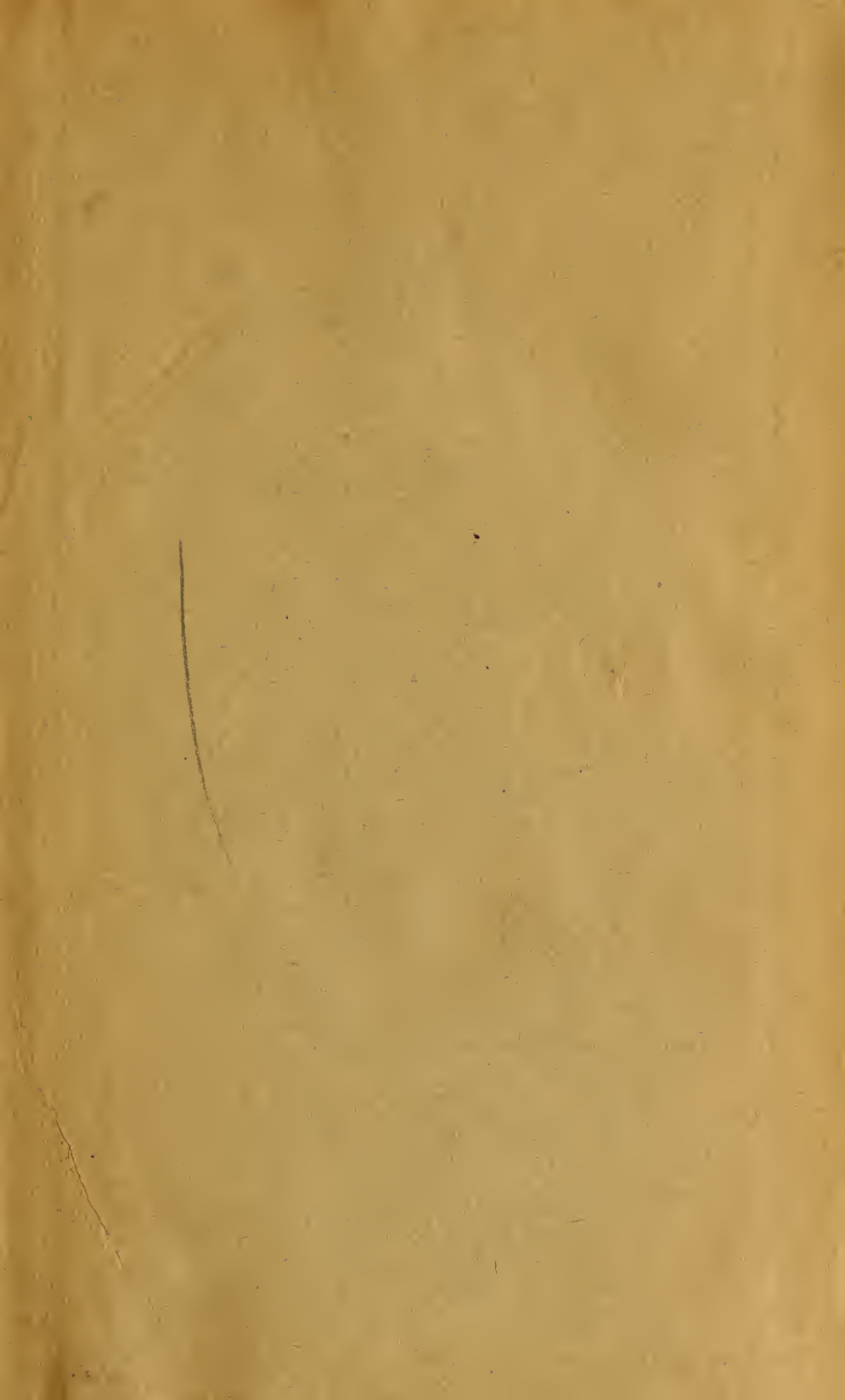


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PAMPHLETS.

Historical Addresses.

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MEMORANDA.

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ANNALS

OF THE
MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY:
1852;

CONTAINING
THE ANNUAL ADDRESS,
BY
J. H. SIMPSON,
FIRST LIEUT. CORPS U. S. TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS;
AND OTHER PAPERS.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

ST. PAUL:

OWENS & MOORE, PRINTERS,

MINNESOTIAN OFFICE.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

ANNUAL PROCEEDINGS.

The Minnesota Historical Society held its annual meeting in the Methodist Episcopal church, of St. Paul, on the evening of January 19th, 1852.

Gov. ALEXANDER RAMSEY was in the chair, assisted by the Vice Presidents, the Hon. MARTIN McLEOD, of Lac-qui-Parle, and DAVID OLMSTED, of Long Prairie. The Rev. T. S. WILLIAMSON, M. D., of Kaposia, opened the meeting with prayer.

The Secretary of the Society presented the following

ANNUAL REPORT.

So much of the property of the Society, as was included in the list, published in the Annals of '51, has been placed in the hands of the present Secretary, with the exception of an Indian saddle, a Description of Lake Superior, by AGASSIZ and his companions du voyage, and the History of the Black Hawk War, by JOHN A. WAKEFIELD.

The following works not before reported, have been presented to the Society :

Documentary History of New York, 3 vols.	Congressional Globe, 5 vols.
Smithsonian Publications, vol. 2d.	Transactions American Institute, 1846.
Magnetic and Meteor. Observations, Girard College, 3 vols.	Transactions N. Y. Agricultural Society, 1843.
Sundry pamphlets illustrative of Vermont.	Transactions N. Y. Agricultural Society, 1846.
Charts of the coast of California.	Diary of C. Marshall, vol. 1.
Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol. 4, part 2.	Minnesota Year Book, 12 copies.

DAKOTA LEXICON.

The prospectus for publishing a Dakota Lexicon, issued by the Society immediately after its last annual meeting, was well received by our citizens, and in a very short time the desired amount of subscription was obtained.

Some months ago, a letter was received from the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, making proposals for issuing the work in connection with this Society. After consultation with his friends, the Rev. Mr. Riggs, who prepared the manuscript, accepted the offer.

The Lexicon is now passing through the press, in New York city. It will be a handsome quarto of about 700 pages, and will find its way to the shelves of the libraries of the principal institutions of science in Europe and America ; and will be of material assistance in giving Minnesota an honorable name abroad, and in perpetuating the name of her ancient people, who for so many years have lived upon the banks of the sky-colored water, from which the Territory has derived her name.

It is suggested that steps be immediately taken for the immediate collection of the subscriptions for the Lexicon, that are now due.

All which is submitted.

E. D. NEILL, *Secretary.*

SAINT PAUL, January 19th 1852.

ST. PAUL, M. T., Jan. 27, 1852.

DEAR SIR:

The Minnesota Historical Society have requested me to express their gratification, in listening to the interesting narrative of a tour in the Navajo country, which you read at the annual meeting on the 19th inst.

In behalf of the Executive Council, I would ask that you will give the manuscript for publication.

Very truly yours,

E. D. NEILL.

LT. J. H. SIMPSON, }
T. E. Corps, U. S. A. }

ST. PAUL, Jan. 29, 1852.

REV'D. AND DEAR SIR:

Your note of the 27th instant, informing me of the gratification with which the narrative I read on the 19th instant, of a reconnaissance in the Navajo country, was received by the Minnesota Historical Society, and requesting of me the manuscript for publication, I have had the honor to receive.

It is certainly very gratifying to know that any effort of mine, to interest the Society, has met with the favor of its members; and if the publication of the narrative will, in any way, further subserve the interests of the Society, the manuscript is at its disposal. You will find it herewith inclosed.

I am, dear sir, very resp'y,

Your ob't. servant,

J. H. SIMPSON,
1st Lieut. Corps Top. Engr's.

Rev'd. E. D. NEILL, }
Sec'y. Min. His. Society. }

ANNUAL ADDRESS.

Members of the Minnesota Historical Society—Ladies and Gentlemen :

I appear before you more on account, as I fear, the partiality of my friends, than on account of any great profit which may accrue to you from any thing I may have to say. I could wish that some one else, among the many competent gentlemen I now see before me, had been selected for the duty with which I have been entrusted ; but having been requested to contribute something to the entertainment of the society, I have not felt at liberty to decline.

*The society, whose objects we are now met together to promote, has for its chief end, the record and elucidation of facts and incidents connected with the history, past and passing, of the territory whose name it bears ; but it has also, if I err not, though in a subordinate degree, the preservation and illustration of the like kind of information in regard to any other portion of our common country, if by such information the quantum of knowledge can be increased, and the mind and heart be correspondingly enlarged and improved. It is in accordance with these views, therefore, and because the Executive Committee have not restricted me in my subject, that I have ventured to go out of the track of my predecessors, who have addressed the society, and shall take as the subject of my address, this evening, the main incidents connected with an expedition into the Navajo country, made in 1849, by a command under the direction of Col. Jno. M. Washington, the then military and civil governor of New Mexico ; to which command I was attached as topographical engineer officer.

On the 16th of August, 1849, might have been seen, starting out from Santa Fe, a number of troops, (artillery and infantry,) their commander-in-chief being Col. Washington, the then military and civil governor of New Mexico. The destination of these troops was the heart of the Navajo country, situated near 300 miles to the west of Santa Fe, and on the western slope of the chain of mountains called the Mexican Cordilleras. The object of the expedition was to coerce the Navajos into a compliance with a treaty which they had made with the United States, three years previous, under Col. Nuby of the volunteers ; and at the same time extend the provisions of the treaty, so that they would be put in the same relation to the government of the United States, as the tribes continuous to our old western frontier are, to wit : the Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees, Seminoles, Winnebagoes and others.

Our route lay for the first thirty miles—as far as the Pueblo of Santa Domingo—about southwest ; thence to the Canon of Chelly, the terminus of the expedition, for a distance of 250 miles, its general course was north of west.

The Rio de Santa Fe, upon which the city of Santa Fe stands, runs southwestwardly into the Rio Grande, the distance being by the Rio de Santa Fe about thirty miles. Our route to Santa Domingo—which town lies on the Rio Grande, but about four miles below the mouth of the Rio de Santa Fe—lay generally along this latter river, six miles of the way being in the canon of the river. This term *canon* is one of Spanish derivation, and is applied, most generally to a deep valley or chasm, enclosed by precipitous walls. It is sometimes, however, used to designate also a shallow valley without enclosing walls, but not often. This canon I found interesting, from its being the first I had seen where the enclosing walls discovered a capping or crown of amygdalod, a trapeean rock approaching in character to lava, from which it seems to differ

only in being less vesicular. This trap rock showed eminently, in particular localities, the blackening, scoriaceous effect of fire; the basis being, in some places, an under formation of an ashy character; in others, a reddish porphyritic rock, in beds slightly dipping towards the east. At the mouth of the canon, I noticed a well-defined ash-colored formation of an argillo-sclieious character, disposed in layers; the whole presenting with striking effect the appearance of an highly finished piece of Grecian architecture, with its extended facade. This object cannot fail to attract the notice of the traveller. The canon having been passed through, seven miles more, over the valley of the Rio Grande, brought us to the Pueblo of Santa Domingo, situated directly on the east bank of river.

This term, *pueblo*, is one, which in New Mexico, is only used as a prefix to designate a Christianized Indian village. Thus, there is the Pueblo de Jemez; the Pueblo de Zuni; the Pueblo de San Felipe, and eighteen other Indian towns or villages having this prefix; its purpose being, not only to designate the several places to which it is attached as towns, which is the primary and usual meaning of the word, but also to convey the idea that they are civilized Indian towns.

Having reached one of these pueblos, it is proper that I should give you some idea of it, as the same description will suffice in the main for all the other pueblos. Imagine to yourselves, then, a number of square masses of sun-dried mud, arranged along three or four parallel streets, running perpendicularly to the Rio Grande; each one of these masses being about nine feet high. Place upon these another set of square blocks of mud of the same height, but of lateral dimensions, so diminished that the top of the under blocks will answer as terraces, or platforms for entry into the upper. Perforate the fronts of these square, block-like structures, with a number of very small doors and windows; the doors being confined entirely, and the windows almost entirely to the upper story. Put in the windows, for lights, the foliated form of gypsum, called selenite. Cover the whole structure with a roof almost flat, made up of logs laid from one side wall to the other; these logs supporting a layer of brush or slabs, and these again a layer about six inches thick of mud. Place against every building, a long crooked ladder, this being the mode of approach to the interior of the houses. Surround the whole aggregated mass with an investment of sheep and goat pens; the fences made of pickets of every kind of length, and as stragglingly planted together as they well could be. Divest the whole *locale* of the town of every sign of a shade tree, and of the slightest appearance of any thing green. Bring all these objects together in the mind's eye, and you have a picture of Santa Domingo, as it appeared to me; and generally a picture of all the other pueblos; though some of them, as the Pueblo of Zuni, have houses which are three stories high; and the Pueblo of Taos, I have been assured, have them as many as seven stories.

The Indians, inhabiting these pueblos in New Mexico, have been *estimated* at about 10,000 souls. What the late census has determined the precise number to be, I have not learned. They profess the Roman Catholic faith, but show little or no evidence of their being practically strong in the belief of it. They are an agricultural people; and in all the elements, moral and physical, which indicate a reliable, pains-taking, reflective people, they are superior to their Spanish Mexican neighbors. A very singular fact, which I am enabled to prove by a comparative vocabulary of their several languages, which I prepared from original sources, when I was among them, is, that though they number but about 10,000 souls, and live within the limited area of but a small fractional portion of New Mexico, they have as many as six distinct languages obtaining among them; no one showing any thing more than the faintest, if indeed any indications, of a cognate origin with the other. This certainly is a most remarkable fact, and deserves more attention from the ethnologist, than it has yet received. It is true that the English author, Ruxton, in his "Mexico and the Rocky Mountains," asserts that these Indians all belong to the same family—the Apache—and speak dialects of the same language, more or less approximating to the Apache; they all understanding, as he remarks, each other's tongue. The fact, however, is just the reverse of all this. No one of the pueblo Indians, speaking a particular language, can, unless he has been *specially taught*, speak the language of another pueblo, unless indeed they happen to have the same language, which is sometimes the case. And this same vocabulary, which I got up, shows as con-

clusively, that in not the slightest degree does the *Apache* dialect, approximate to either of the dialects of the pueblos. How Ruxton could have fallen into so gross an error, a member of an ethnological society, as he avows himself to be, in the titlepage of his work, is more than I can fathom. The American author, Gregg, too, in his invaluable work, entitled "The Commerce of the Prairies," has fallen into an error in regard to this matter. He says, "There is but three or four different languages spoken among the pueblos of New Mexico, and these indeed, may be distinctly allied to each other." It is not often, however, that Gregg can be caught napping with regard to the statements which he makes; and there is no work on New Mexico, to which I would sooner refer the student for information in relation to its early history and progress, trade and commerce, the manners and customs of this people, than his.

The Pueblo of Santa Domingo having been described, and some remarks made in regard to the pueblos generally, we will proceed with the narrative of the expedition. The next step in our progress, after passing through Santa Domingo, was to cross the Rio Grande, or, as it is known most generally in New Mexico, the Rio del Norte, or North River; because it descends from that direction. This river is a swift, turbid stream, its bed being full of sand bars, and so shallow that no attempt has ever been made, or probably ever will be made, as high as this point, to use it for navigable purposes. Its width, where we crossed it, was about 300 yards; its banks but a foot or two above the surface of the water, and its bottom full of quick-sands. These quick-sands are a frequent characteristic of the streams of the plains, and of New Mexico; and in order to the fording of them with safety, it is necessary to traverse them as quickly as possible to prevent being absorbed by them. And now, while I am speaking of this river, I will mention a tradition respecting it, which will be found in Baron Humboldt's work, entitled "*Essai Politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne*," vol. II.

"The inhabitants of Paso del Norte," says he, "preserve the recollection of a very extraordinary event, which took place in 1752. They noticed all at once the whole bed of the river to become dry for thirty leagues above, and more than twenty below the pass; the water of the river precipitated itself into a new *crevasse*, and did not appear above ground again until it reached the neighborhood of San Elezario. This loss of the Rio del Norte, lasted quite a long time. The beautiful country which surrounds El Paso, and which is traversed by small irrigating canals, remained without being watered; the inhabitants dug wells in the sand, of which the bed of the river is full. At length, after many weeks, the water was seen to resume its old bed; without doubt, because the *crevasse* and subterranean passages had become blocked up." Such is a translation of his account of the tradition. Now, if such a tradition had obtained among the people of New Mexico, in the time of Humboldt's explorations, it is something singular, that the traveller in that region hears nothing of it at this day. But even admitting that the river did lose itself, as Humboldt has stated,—and it is a phenomena of no unfrequent occurrence in the streams of that country,—it is not necessary to go so far for a plausible theory to account for it, as to suppose that a subterranean channel must have suddenly opened, and after remaining so for some time, as suddenly closed. The simple circumstance, that the bed of the Rio del Norte appears to be nothing but pure sand, and that to an unknown depth, is of itself, in connection with an unusual drought, sufficient to account for it. A season of great drought might have occurred, which would have produced a corresponding diminution in the volume of water coursing the bed of the Rio Grande, and the quick-sand bottom of the river might, in places, have absorbed the water to such a degree, as to cause it to appear lost, or to have found a new passage; and thus the phenomenon be accounted for. Indeed, the streams in New Mexico are generally, for a portion of the year, lost in this way. The Rio Puerco, for instance, which, on the maps, figures as a stream of more than one hundred miles in length, I have crossed four times near its mouth, and not found a particle of water in its bed; whilst at the same time, high up, it was a running stream; all produced, without doubt, by the same causes which I have already given in respect to the Rio Grande.

But I must pass on to the Pueblo de Jemez, twenty-six miles northwest of Santa Domingo. To get to this Indian town, we had to cross over a very rugged country, composed principally of sand hills, divested of any verdure except that of a dwarf

species of cedar, sparsely scattered, and not furnishing a particle of water the whole distance. The Pueblo of Jemez, reached, we encamped in its vicinity four days; the object being to perfect the arrangements for a change in our mode of transportation. Thus far, we had been enabled to bring our wagons; but now, it became necessary, on account of the broken and mountainous character of the country through which we were to pass, to pack our supplies upon mules. The delay necessary for this, enabled us to examine the curiosities around us. Among other things, it had been reported that about nine miles above us, in the valley of the Rio Jemez, were some springs which were remarkable for the high temperature of their waters. Of course, so favorable an opportunity of visiting them was not to be allowed to slip by unimproved. So one fair morning, after breakfast, several of us started off in search of them, the lieutenant governor of Jemez, a swarthy pueblo Indian, accompanying us as a guide. Ever and anon as we threaded the valley of the Rio Jemez, we saw ruined adobe buildings, which the guide informed us had once been inhabited by the Mexicans; but which they had deserted for fear of the Navajos. The springs, we found as represented, about twelve miles above Jemez. They are all confined to an area of a few square feet; the principal one issuing from the bottom of a secondary channel of the river Jemez. The small knoll or tumulus from which this principal one emerges, seems to partake of both a calcareous and basaltic character. The volume of water which flowed from it, I estimated at a gallon and a half per minute. This spring, as well as the others, exhibited, about its mouth, a limited accumulation of chrysaline deposit; which, on account of its fine grained character and hardness, I supposed to be travertine. The complexion of the deposit was white, with a shade of greenish yellow. Having brought with us some eggs and venison for the purpose of testing the reported culinary powers of the springs, we immersed them into the fluid. The consequence was, that in about fifteen minutes, we had, to the bread and cheese we had brought with us, an accession of some hard-boiled eggs and some cooked venison, upon which we made a very satisfactory repast. The time it took to cook the articles would doubtless have been much less, had the bowl of the fountain admitted the perfect immersion of them, and the fixture of a cover, by means of which the heat evolved in the evaporation could have been retained. But even as it was, the temperature of the water, on plunging into it the thermometer of Faranheit, was found to be as high as 169° , a point at this high atmospheric elevation, (7,000 feet above the ocean,) about 15° below the boiling point of water. What the cause of this high temperature is, is as yet a question unsolved. It may be that it is occasioned by subteranean fires, of which there are many indications in New Mexico. Or it may be the result of chemical combination, taking place in the bowels of the earth; this combination being attended with the evolution of latent caloric, which may be the cause of the thermal condition of the springs.

These springs are said, in diseases of a cutaneous or rheumatic kind, to possess properties of a highly curative character; and it doubtless is on this account that the arbores which we noticed over some of them, had been erected. They had been constructed to shade the invalid from a hot sun, and at the same time permit him to enjoy the luxury of a warm bath.

The hot springs, or *Ojos Calientes*, as they are called in Spanish, having been sufficiently examined, we returned to regale ourselves with the other objects of interest about us. Among other matters which I might detail here, at some length, I could say something of the Pecos Indians, a peculiar tribe, of whom mention is made in Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies," and in Emory's Notes of a "Reconnaissance in New Mexico;" but the other topics which I wish to introduce in this address, make it necessary for me to be brief in relation to them. This people, Hosta, the governor of Jemez, informed me, were the only people who spoke the same language his people did. He also went on to inform me that when he was but a lad, the Spaniards harassing them (the people of Old Pecos,) very much, and killing the old man and his daughter who had had the charge of the sacred fire of Montezuma; and it thus ceasing they asked and obtained permission from his people to come and live among them. And not only did they grant them permission to do this, but sent out persons with carts to assist them get in their crops and transport them to their new abode. At present,

he informed me, they had dwindled down to but eighteen souls, fifteen of whom were then living in his town. Their religion, though like that of the people of Jemez, in essentials, differed somewhat in its rites. They, however, both worshipped Montezuma as God, as indeed do all the other pueblos. They also worshipped the sun, moon and fire; the moon, Hosta calling the captain of the night, and the sun the great captain, because, as he said, when he arose he put away all the children of the night. To the question which was put to one of the Jemez Indians, "Whether they worshipped the sun as God with contrition of heart," his reply was, "Why not? He governs the world!" They all regard themselves as the children of Montezuma, and Hosta informed me a tradition had been long current among them that they would one day be delivered from their Mexican bondage by a people which would come from the East; and that in consequence of the good treatment they had received from the Americans, they were beginning to believe that they were that people.

The pack mule arrangement for the transportation of our supplies, being complete, and an accession of fifty-five pueblo Indians, and one company of Mexican foot troops, being made to our force, we left Jemez on the 22d of January, in the prosecution of our march; our whole force numbering, inclusive of the Mexican mounted militia, which joined us that or the succeeding day, and the employees in the quartermaster's department, about 400 men. Our route lay north of west, through the Canon de Penasca; across the Rio Puerco, mention of which has already been made; through the Canon de la Copa, or Cup Canon, so called on account of the cup-like rocks which are to be seen in its walls; over the *Sierra Madre*, sometimes called *Sierra de los Mimbres*, but more frequently known among Americans as the Cordilleras; which persons are apt to believe is a serrated, jagged mountain, as its name, *Sierra* (serrated) would seem to imply, but which is only a high, slightly convex, extended area of country, dividing the waters which flow into the Gulf of Mexico, from those which fall into the Pacific; down the Rio Chaco, a tributary of the San Juan, which is a tributary of the Rio Colorado of the West; up the eastern slope of the Sierra de Tunecha; through a formidable pass of these mountains, where the Mexicans were defeated by the Navajos in 1835,—a pass which I have called in my report to government, and upon my map, "Pass Washington," in honor of our excellent and well beloved commander, Colonel Washington, of the 3d artillery; down the western slope of this same mountain, across the heads of several small streams running southwardly, to the mouth of the renowned Canon of Chelly—the *ultima thule* of the expedition.

Upon the Rio Chaco, we fell in with some very interesting ruins; which, as they discovered a higher degree of architectural skill, and are very different in style from the modern buildings now to be seen in New Mexico, were regarded by us with a great deal of attention. No account before my report to government, that I know of, had ever been presented to the public, of these ruins, except the few remarks which are to be found in Gregg's work, in relation to one of them, Pueblo Bonito; a structure which he evidently describes as one of which he has heard something, but never beheld. The greater portion of these ruins being out of the route the troops were going to take, I obtained permission from the colonel commanding, to be absent for the day, to visit them, it being my intention to join the command again at night. From some cause or other, most probably an intentional misdirection on the part of the pretendedly friendly Navajo chief, we had with us—Sandoval—the troops did not encamp again on the Rio Chaco, which I was assured they would do; and the consequence was, that the party I had with me, nine in all, did not reach camp until late on the second day. This circumstance created no uneasiness with us during our absence; but on our return, learning the solicitude which had been felt on our account, from the commanding officer and others, we began to think that we had indeed run some risk. And this belief ripened into certainty, a day or two after, when on account of the unfriendly disposition manifested towards us by the Navajos, we were obliged to fire into them, with a loss on their part of seven men, including their great warrior and chief, Narbona; our loss being only a mule or two, which scampered away from fright during the affray. But I am digressing.

The ruins of which I have spoken, are ten in number, and lie in the valley or canon of the Rio Chaco, within a distance of twenty-one miles; eight of them being within a

compass of six miles. They are all of the same general style of architecture, though differing from each other in some of the smaller details. They have been all built of sandstone, of a hard, fine grained, compact character; the thickness of these stones in most of these structures, being as small as two inches. Indeed so diminutively small are the stones of which the structures are composed, and so truly laid, the idea is at once suggested in looking at them at a little distance, that you are beholding a magnificent piece of mosaic work. The plan of the buildings, is, with two exceptions, a hollow rectangle; the ranges of apartments being built entirely on three sides of the rectangle, and the fourth side being a segment of circular wall. The greatest exterior circuit of any one of the structures is about 1700 feet. The walls of most of the structures are in a great state of dilapidation; the debris at their bases indicating that originally, they must have been of considerable height. Indeed, in many places the walls are still standing to a height of thirty feet or more; and plainly indicated by the perforations for the floor beams and the opening for windows, that some of them must have been as many as four stories high. The walls at their base, in some instances, were within an inch or two of being three feet in thickness; and on their exterior faces, they presented a plane surface throughout their whole extent. On the inner, or court side of the building, we never found the first back wall higher than one story; and as the partition walls presented a step-like appearance from rear to front, the idea suggested itself that this rear portion must have been terraced; and that in all probability the mode of ascent to the several stories, was by ladders placed from story to story—the mode practised by the pueblo Indians of the present day. The rooms, which in one of the buildings must have been over 600 in number, are very small—some of them not more than five feet square, and the largest about sixteen by eighteen feet. The doors and windows appear also to have been very small, the former in some instances being as small as two and a half by two and a half feet. The masonry showed no mortar between the stones in the front of the buildings, but these stones were chinked up by others of the minutest thinness. The filling and backing were done in rubble masonry, the mortar presenting no indications of the presence of lime. The system of flooring seems to have been large, transverse, unhewn beams, about six inches in diameter, laid transversely from wall to wall; on these a series of smaller ones laid crosswise, and on these again, plank, and in some instances, apparently mud. The beams and the plank seemed to be, from their odor, pine or cedar. In all the courts of these buildings, were circular, walled up apartments, sunk into the ground, some of them indicating a diameter of as much as sixty feet, and a depth of several stories. One of these ruins had as many as six of these circular, underground apartments. What could possibly have been their object, is more than I can inform you, except that the pueblo Indians of the present day, call them *estuffas*; that is, places for political and religious meetings. But why they should have had as many as six attached to one building, I cannot conjecture. They certainly could not have been wells, for there would not have been so many necessary. Who knows, then, but that they are the mines from which was once obtained the precious ore, for which the Spanish colonist, in early day, so industriously roamed this country.

Around all the ruins, we found a great deal of pottery; the fragments still retaining, in many instances, the freshness of their original colors, and the combination of the colors showing no little taste in their form and arrangement. We also, picked up a number of pieces of obsidian, the stone described by Prescott, as that used by the Aztecs, to cut out the hearts of their victims, and which they also used to barb their arrows with.

It is a singular fact, that in no single instance, did we find in these ruins, either a chimney or fire-place. Neither were there any indications of the use of iron about the premises.

In regard to the position of these structures, in respect to the four cardinal points of the heavens, it deviated in every instance more or less from them. But in no instance was the variation from the *magnetic* cardinal points, more than five degrees, except in the case of the Pueblo Una Vida, where it was as great as fifteen degrees east. The magnetic variation of the needle from the true meridian, being at these localities, about thirteen and a half degrees, east; the deviation from the four *true* car-

dinal points, in the case of the Pueblo Una Vida, must have been as much as twenty-eight and a half degrees. In the case, however, of all the other pueblos, it was but a very few degrees.

In regard to the origin of these remains, there was nothing that I could learn conclusive in relation to it. Hosta, one of the most intelligent pueblo Indians I saw, told me they were built by Montezuma and his people, when they were on their way from the north to the valley of the Rio Grande, and to Old Mexico. Sandoval, a very intelligent Navajo chief, also informed me they were built by Montezuma, but further said, that the Navajos and all the other Indians were once but one people, and lived in the vicinity of the Silver Mountains, about one hundred miles north of the ruins; that the pueblos separated from them, (the Navajos) and built towns on the Rio Grande, but that their house continued to be the "hut made of bushes." Nothing more satisfactory than this, could I obtain from either Indians or Mexicans.

Humboldt, in his "*Essai Politique*," already referred to, remarks in relation to this subject, as follows: "With the nomadic and wild Indians who inhabit the plains east of New Mexico, contrast those whom we find west of the Rio del Norte, between the Gila and Colorado rivers. Father Garcias is one of the last missionaries who, in 1773, visited the country of the Moquis, traversed by the river Yaquesila. He was astonished to find an Indian city with two grand public squares, houses of several stories, streets well aligned and parallel to each other. The people assembled every evening upon the terraces, which formed the tops of their houses. The construction of the houses of the Moquis, are the same as that of *Cases Grandes*, near the Rio Gila. The Indians who inhabit the northern part of New Mexico, give also considerable height to their houses, for the purpose of discovering the approach of their enemies. Every thing appears to announce in these regions, traces of the culture of the ancient Mexicans. Indian traditions, indeed, apprise us that twenty leagues to the north of Moqui, near the mouth of the river Zaguánas, the banks of the Navajo, were the first resting place of the Aztecs, after their leaving Aztlan. In considering the civilization which exists upon many points of the north-west side of America, in the country of Moqui, and upon the borders of the Gila, we are tempted to believe, (and I am bold to repeat it here) that at the time of the migration of the Toltecs, of the Acolhuans, and of the Aztecs, many tribes separated themselves from the great mass of the people for the purpose of fixing themselves in these northern regions, although the language which the Indians of Moqui, the Yabipais, who wear long beards, and those who inhabit the plains in the vicinity of the Colorado, speak, differs essentially from the Mexican language." Such are the remarks of Humboldt.

Now, the ruins we saw, were found upon the Rio Chaco, which may once have been known as the Navajo river; it running through the Navajo country. Their locality is not very far distant from the mouth of the San Juan, which may be the river Zaguánas, Humboldt speaks of. And they are to the north of the Moqui country, it is true, more than twenty leagues; but not so many more as not to make it exceedingly probable, that these are the very ruins to which tradition refers, as being the first resting place of the Aztecs, on their way to Old Mexico. Besides, the conjecture which Humboldt gives in relation to the dispersion of the Toltecs, Aztecs, &c., during their migration towards the south, it will be noticed, agrees with the statement made by the Navajo chief, Sandoval, in relation to a similar, if not the same dispersion.

But it may be said: "It is true, these remains discover a race of men superior to the natives of New Mexico of the present day; but where are the evidences of the very high stage of civilization to which the Aztecs are said by historians to have attained in Anahuac? Where are the evidences of a mechanical knowledge equal to that which must have been exercised in the construction of the temple of Xochicalco, the palaces of Tezcatzinco, and the colossal calendar stone in the capital." But waiving the question, whether these remains are not of Toltec, rather than of Aztec origin, is it at all an impossible thing, that a people who could show the ingenuity and skill which the ruins of Chaco attest, could also, self-instructed, by the time of the Spanish conquest, or within the space of four centuries, (the interval between the twelfth century, the generally received date of the first halting place of the Aztecs, in their progress south, and the sixteenth century, the date of the invasion by Cortez)—I say,

is it a thing impossible, that within this interval of four centuries, they could have made such advances in the mechanic arts, as to have been equal to the work in question? And, still further, is it not very likely, that as history bases the advanced state of the arts among the Aztecs of Anahuac, more upon the superior attainments of their predecessors, the Toltecs, and their contemporaries, the Tezucucans, than upon their own spontaneous self-instructed efforts, is it not very likely, I say, that under such favorable auspices, the Aztecs could have attained to the degree of proficiency ascribed to them? These facts and reflections; it is true, do not with certainty *fix* an Aztec origin to the ruins on the Chaco, but they go to show, that as far as is known, there is nothing to invalidate the hypothesis, but, on the contrary, a great deal to make it probable.

But to proceed with the other objects which we saw in the expedition. Passing over a number of matters which might be interesting to the audience, I will suppose that it has gone with me to the terminus of the expedition westward; the mouth of the Canon of Chelly. This canon is the source of the Rio de Chelly, a tributary of the San Juan, and had been long famous among Mexicans on account of its great depth, the beauty of its side walls, and the inaccessible fort it was said to contain. It had from time immemorial been regarded as the stronghold of the Navajos, and it was here, therefore, if anywhere, that we expected difficulty. To make us more certain that it contained an inaccessible fort, our Mexican guide, Caravahel, assured us that he had on one occasion ascended as many as seven ladders with the view of reaching the top of it; but he was not permitted to go farther, and he counted seven ladders more to go up before he could have accomplished his purpose. Of course we were very anxious to explore so wonderful a canon; and the third day after our arrival I had an opportunity to do so. The colonel commanding, desiring to have a military reconnoissance made of the canon, I was directed by him to perform the duty. No treaty having yet been made with the Navajos, and every thing bearing at the time a dubious aspect, I was provided with a very large escort; the whole numbering, with the officers that accompanied the party, seventy-one persons. Our course, for the first two miles, lay east of south; thence turning to the left, we entered the canon, the general direction being from that point, about southeast. On entering the canon we perceived nothing remarkable in the character of its walls. We found them to be low, and far from interesting in their appearance. The kind of rock of which they were composed was a red amorphous sandstone, rather friable to the touch, and showing imperfect seams of stratification; the dip being slightly towards the west. Proceeding up the canon, the walls gradually attained a higher altitude, till about three miles above the mouth, they began to assume a stupendous appearance. Almost perfectly vertical, they looked as if they had been chiseled by the hand of art; and occasionally curious marks, apparently the effect of the rotary attrition of contiguous masses, could be seen on their faces. At this point we followed up a left hand branch of the canon. Its walls we found still to continue stupendous. In its bottom, we passed through some patches of corn, intermingled with melons, pumpkins and squashes. Half a mile up, we turned to the right, up a secondary branch of the canon. This branch showed rocks, probably as high as three hundred feet, almost perfectly vertical, and in some instances not discovering a seam in their faces from top to bottom. About half a mile up this branch, in the right hand wall, was a hemispherical cave, canopied by some magnificent rocks; and in it an acceptable spring of water, which was sheltered by it. A few yards farther, this branch terminated in an almost vertical wall, affording no pathway for the ascent or descent of troops. At the head of this branch, I noticed two or three hackberry trees, and also the *stramonium*, the first plant of the kind we had seen. Retracing our steps to the primary branch we had left, we followed it up to its head, which we found but a few hundred yards above the fork; the side walls still continuing grand, and some fine caves being visible here and there within them. I also noticed here some small habitations made up of natural overhanging rock, and artificial walls laid in stone and mortar. Having ascended the lateral branches to their heads, and not yet having seen the famous fort which our guide gave us to understand was in one of them, we began to believe that, in all probability, it would turn out to be a fable. But still we had gone but about three miles up the *main* canon, and it might yet unfold it; so we returned to examine it above the point where we had left it. Half a mile

above this point, we noticed, for the first time, in the left hand wall, a shelving place where troops (foot not mounted,) might descend and ascend. About a mile further up, we observed, upon a shelf in the left hand wall, some fifty feet above the bottom of the canon—inapproachable except by ladders, on account of the steepness of the wall—a small pueblo in ruins, of a style of structure similar to all appearances, to that found in the ruins of the Chaco. We also noticed in it a singular wall, which, in all probability had been an estufa. Half a mile further up we passed another collection of uninhabited houses, perched on a shelf in the left hand wall. Near this place, in the bed of the canon, I noticed the Navajo hut, (a conical pole lodge, ordinarily covered with brush or bark, and mud, but in this instance with corn stalks,) and near it a peach orchard. A mile further, observing several Navajos high above us, on the brink of the north wall, shouting and gesticulating as if they were very glad to see us, what was our astonishment, when they commenced tripping down the almost sheer wall before them, as nimbly and dexterously as minuet dancers! Indeed, the force of gravity, and their descent upon a steep inclined plane, made such a kind of performance absolutely necessary to insure their equilibrium. All seemed to allow that this was one of the most wonderful feats they had ever witnessed. A mile or two further, we fell in with some considerable pueblo ruins; a portion of which were on a shelf of a sheer rock, some fifty feet above the bottom of the canon. This shelf was canopied by a stupendous mass of overhanging rock, which was probably not far from four hundred feet high. The style of these ruins is similar to that of the ruins on the Chaco; the building material being of small thin sandstone, from two to four inches thick, imbedded in mud mortar and chinked, in the *facade*, with smaller stones. Half a mile above these ruins, in a re-entering angle of the canon, we noticed a peach orchard and some Navajo lodges. Proceeding still farther up the canon, the walls, which yet preserved their red sandstone character, but which had increased in the magnificence of their proportions, at intervals presented *facades* hundreds of feet in length, and three or four hundred in height; these *facades* being beautifully smooth and vertical. The walls looked as if they had been erected by the hand of art; the blocks of stone, composing them, not unfrequently discovering a continuous length of hundreds of feet, and a thickness of as much as ten feet; all laid with as much precision, and showing as handsome and regular horizontal joints, as could be seen in the custom house of the city of New York.

Having ascended the canon about nine miles, the horses of the pueblo Indians in company with us, not being strong enough for a further exploration, there being no prospect of our seeing the much talked of *presidio*, or fort of the Navajos, which had all along been represented to us as being about three miles above the mouth of the canon; and the reconnoissance having already been conducted further than Colonel Washington had thought would be necessary, the party returned to camp, highly delighted with what they had seen. We found, however, the further we ascended the canon, the more imposing became its enclosing walls; their altitude, at our point of return, being, by measurement, five hundred and two feet. This altitude, without doubt, continued to become higher and higher; for, at the head of the canon, sixteen miles above, which we had visited several days before, by an offset from our line of march, I estimated it at least 800 feet; and Colonel Washington even thought that a thousand feet was not an extravagant estimate. The length of the canon is probably about twenty-five miles; its average width 200 yards. It is something anomalous, that though the walls are as nearly vertical as they could be, their bases are perfectly free from the debris which usually accompanies rocks of this description. Does not this fact point to a crack, or natural fissure as the original development of this canon, rather than to aqueous agents, which at least in the existing state of that climate, show an utter inadequacy as a producing cause?

Both in going up and returning through the canon, groups of Navajos and single persons could be seen high above us, on the edges of its walls, gazing at us. Once I recollect of seeing a fellow upon horseback, looking at us from this height, and relieved as he was sharply against the sky, I thought I had never seen anything more picturesque. Whenever we met these Indians in the canon, they appeared very friendly, the principal chief, Martinez, accompanying us in our exploration, and the proprietors of the peach orchards bringing out blanket loads of the fruit for distribution among the

troops. Indeed, the chief, as we passed up the canon, harangued the people as they stood watching us from its walls, and told them to be careful not to trouble us.

The mystery of the Canon of Chelly, was now solved. It indeed proved to be a wonderful exhibition of nature, and as long as the earth endures, will it be regarded by the tourist, as well as the geologist, with wonder and interest. But as a strong hold for the Navajos, into which they might drive their stock, with the accessory of an impregnable fort to which they might, in the last extremity, resort, with the certainty of remaining impregnable. it is no such thing; and to Colonel Washington and his command, must be accorded the credit of first exploding this notion.

I did expect in ascending the canon, to find that the Navajos had other and better habitations than the conical pole, brush and mud lodges, which, up to this time, we had only seen. But no other than these, except ruined ones, the origin of which they knew nothing about, did we see. Indeed, a Mexican, a member of our command, who had once been a captive among them, said they had no other habitation. In the summer, he informed us, they live wherever their stock and cornfields are; and in the winter, in the mountains, where they can protect themselves from the snows, and get plenty of wood. In all our travel through their country, we did not meet a single village of them, it appearing to be their habit to live scatteringly wherever they could find a spot to plant corn or graze their stock. The necessity of living more densely, probably has not heretofore existed, from the feeling which they doubtless have hitherto entertained, that they were perfectly safe from the intrusion of an enemy, on account of the inaccessible character of their country.

It seems anomalous to me, that a nation living in such miserably constructed mud lodges, should, at the same time, be capable of making probably the best blankets in the world! Gregg, speaking of this people, says: "They (the Navajos) reside in the main range of the Cordilleras, 150 to 200 miles west of Santa Fe, on the waters of the Rio Colorado of California, not far from the region, according to historians, from whence the Aztecs emigrated to Mexico; and there are many reasons to suppose them direct descendants from the remnant which remained on the north of this celebrated nation of antiquity. Although they live in rude (huts) somewhat resembling the wigwams of the Pawnees, yet from time immemorial, they have excelled all others in their original manufactures; and, as well as the Moquis, (a neighboring pueblo tribe,) they are still distinguished for some exquisite styles of cotton textures, and display considerable ingenuity in embroidering with feathers the skins of animals, according to their primitive practice. They now also manufacture a singular species of blanket, known as the *sarape Navajo*, which is of so close and dense a texture, that it will frequently hold water almost equal to gum elastic cloth. It is therefore highly prized for protection against the rains. Some of the finer qualities are often sold among the Mexicans as high as fifty or sixty dollars each."

In regard to the manufacture of cotton fabrics, in which, according to Gregg, the Navajos excel, we observed no evidences at all of this species of manufacture among them; nor any signs of the domestic culture of the plant. Indeed, from Senor Vigil, the then secretary of New Mexico, who probably is better acquainted with the history of the Navajo nation than any other man in the territory, having served with the Mexican army, which on one or more occasions invaded their country, I learned that they formerly manufactured a few cotton fabrics from the raw material, which they were in the habit of importing from Santa Fe and other places; but that of late, this species of manufacture had almost, if not entirely ceased among them. In regard to the manufacture of *plumage*, or feather work, they certainly displayed a greater fondness for decorations of this sort than any Indians I had seen; but though they exhibit taste in the *selection and disposition* of this kind of ornament about their persons, I saw no exhibition of it in the way of *embroidery*.

As regards the hypothesis which Gregg advances, in the paragraph quoted, that the Navajos are the direct descendants of the Aztecs, it is not at all improbable that they may be. But if, as is likely, and as Gregg supposes, this ancient people once inhabited the pueblos on the Rio Chaco, how is it that they have retrograded in civilization in respect to their habitations, when they have preserved it in respect to their manufactures? I know of but two ways to account for it. Either the Navajos are descended

from a cognate stock, *prior* to that which built the Chaco pueblos, which stock lived, as the Navajos now do, in lodges, (and this hypothesis agrees with the tradition given by Sandoval); or, in process of time, the cultivable and pastoral portion of the country becoming more and more reduced in area, and scattered in locality—and this the present perfectly desert state of the country, around and in the vicinity of the ruins, makes extremely probable—the people of necessity became correspondingly scattered and locomotive, and thus gradually adopted the habitation most suitable for such a state of things—the lodge they now inhabit.

In respect to the population of the Navajo nation, it was impossible for me to arrive at any thing like a reliable approximation of it. Indeed, if the few we saw bore any thing like a proper proportion to the whole number, the extent of this population has been greatly exaggerated. But I prefer to believe that, as a nation, they live much scattered, and that they, whose precincts we passed through, studiously avoided us. All things, then considered, I estimate the population of this people to be from eight thousand to ten thousand souls. Gregg estimates it at ten thousand. Their stock, from what I could observe, and also from what the Mexican captive before referred to, informed me, consists principally in sheep and horses—mules and horned cattle forming but an inconsiderable portion of it. Their horses, although better than those to be seen among New Mexicans, did not come up to the idea I had entertained of them, from what I had read about them. They were not, in my judgment, near as fine as those I saw among the Camanches; and in comparison with our own, at best they could be said to be nothing else than indifferent.

But I must pass on to other matters of interest connected with the expedition. On the 10th September, a proper treaty having been concluded with the Navajos, the troops took up their line of march to return to Santa Fe. The route taken was by the way of Canoncito Bonito, the Pueblo of Zuni, the Pueblo of Lagana, and Albuquerque. As far as the Pueblo of Zuni, a distance of 104 miles, the course was east of south. From Zuni to Albuquerque, a distance of 133 miles, it was generally due east. And from Albuquerque, a Mexican town, situate on the Rio Grande, to Santa Fe, a distance of sixty-seven miles, it was northeast.

To quote from my report to Col. Abert, from which I have not hesitated to make extracts, when I found them suitable in the preparation of this narrative: Thirteen miles from our last camp, we entered the valley of the Rio del Pescado, or as some call the stream, the Rio de Zuni; which we found extensively cultivated in corn. There were also indications of there having been an abundant harvest of wheat. The Pueblo of Zuni, when first seen, about three miles off, appeared like a low ridge of brownish rocks; not a tree being visible to relieve the nakedness of its appearance,—a general characteristic, as I have before remarked, of pueblo towns, and I may also say of Mexican towns. We had not more than begun to get a sight of the pueblo, when we noticed a body of Indians approaching us from it. This party turned out to be a deputation, headed by the governor and *alcalde*, which had come out for the purpose of escorting the governor of New Mexico, Col. Washington, into town. Their reception of him and of his suite was very cordial. The *alcalde*, I noticed, was habited in the undress frock coat of the officers of the American army; in which, however, I must confess he did not appear to be perfectly at home. After proceeding in company about a mile, we were unexpectedly saluted, at a preconceived sign from a chief, with an exhibition of a sham fight, in which men, young and old, and boys entered, with all the ardor imaginable. Guns were fired, dust was thrown in the air, men on foot and on horseback could be seen running hurry-scurry, the war whoop was yelled, and altogether quite an exciting scene was exhibited. Just as we reached town a still more interesting scene occurred. All the male inhabitants of the place, including gray headed old men, the middle aged, and the youthful portion of the population, came out to meet the governor and shake hands with him. It was particularly interesting, to see the juvenile portion of this Indian community, engaged in this refined act of courtesy. The governor and suite were then conducted to the *casa* of the governor of the pueblo, and regaled with bread in every variety of form—loaf, *tortilla* and *guayave*—and with watermelons, muskmelons and peaches.

The Pueblo of Zuni, as its prefix indicates, is an Indian town, situated on the Rio

de Zuni—a tributary of the Colorado of the West. It is along this river, and thence across the Rio Colorado of California to the Pacific ocean, that a reconnoissance has, during the past fall, been made by a party under the charge of Capt. Sitgreaves, of the corps of topographical engineers; which reconnoissance, was ordered doubtless by the government, on account of the information I gave in my report, that I felt assured from all the facts I was able to gather on the subject, that a wagon route could be found in this direction to the Pacific, which would be shorter than Cook's route, by possibly as much as three hundred miles. The report of this expedition I look forward to with a great deal of interest, both on account of the topographical knowledge which it will give of the country, of which nothing has ever been presented to the public, and also on account of the ancient remains, which it is said to contain, and the manners and habits of the singular tribes of Indians which are reported to inhabit those regions. The town of Zuni, like all the other pueblo towns, is built terrace-shaped; each story, of which there were generally three, being smaller laterally, and thus one story answering in part for a platform of approach to the other. Against every building could be seen leaning a long crooked ladder; this being the mode of ascent in all the pueblo buildings. The town is much more compactly built than the other pueblos we passed through, in some instances the houses extending clear over the streets, and thus furnishing a kind of covered way. The material of their houses is stone, plastered with mud. Like all the other pueblo towns, it has a Roman Catholic church, built of adobes. A very indifferent painting of *Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe*, and a couple of statues garnished the wall back of the chancel. The walls elsewhere were perfectly bare. This was by far the best built, and neatest looking pueblo I saw in New Mexico; though, as usual, the ragged, picketed sheep and goat pens environing it, detracted not a little from its appearance. The population of the place, based upon the number given me by the governor, as capable of bearing arms, I estimate at 2,000. It is something singular, that among these Indians, there should have been found seven white Indians, or Albinos. This number has been exaggerated, by some writers, into a whole race of Indians of this peculiar description; but the governor informed me that seven constituted the whole number; and that they were all of pure Zuni blood. This Pueblo of Zuni is the town of which a description went the rounds of the papers during the Mexican war, representing it to be a most remarkable city, and of which nothing was known until the expedition of Col. Doniphan, in 1846, brought it to light; the truth being, however, that for more than a century and a half previously, ever since the date of its re-subjugation in 1692, by Gen. Don Diego de Bargas, it had been a well known dependency of New Mexico; the journal of the officer named, which I saw among the state archives at Santa Fe, attesting the fact.

The people inhabiting this pueblo, seemed farther advanced in the arts of civilization, than any Indians I saw in New Mexico. They had large herds of sheep and horses, and extensively cultivated the soil. Being far off from any mercantile population, they sold nothing for money, but disposed of their commodities entirely in barter. Some of our command, thought from their apparent closeness in business transactions, that they were the most contracted people they had met. But to my mind, in view of the treatment they represented themselves to have received from a party of California emigrants, which had but a week or two before passed through their town, their conduct discovered only a proper degree of caution,—a caution founded on the principle of self-conservation,—and which it was wise only to *allow* to be removed in proportion as they discovered us to be more worthy of their confidence.

But, to pass on to other incidents of the expedition. Having travelled about twenty-two miles from Zuni, I one morning met in the woods a Mr. Lewis, who, I ascertained, was waiting to conduct me, if I desired it, to a high rock, upon which he said I would find half an acre of inscriptions, many of them of a very beautiful character. On the top of the rock, he further told me, I would find some ancient ruins, which were also very extraordinary. Mr. Lewis had been a trader among the Navajos, and having been recently driven by them out of their country, and his goods taken from him, he had joined the expedition for the purpose of having his property restored to him. He had frequently talked of the wonders he had seen in the Navajo country; and among other things, was fond of expatiating upon some remarkable

inscriptions, which he had noticed on a very high rock, on one of the routes from Zuni to Santa Fe, and which, he said, covered more than half an acre of surface. The particular language in which these inscriptions had been carved, he did not know; all he could say, was, that they were in a back hand, and, that on one occasion, a lad he had had with him, could distinguish among them, the Latin word *Dominus*. Mr. Lewis, however, proved to be such a flippant talker, and at the same time so worthless a guide, though professing to know a great deal of the country, that few, if any, put any credence in his statement. Here he was, however, ready, as he said, to take me to the very spot; and I could not doubt but that he had seen some inscriptions, though probably not half an acre of them, as he asserted. Obtaining, therefore, permission from Colonel Washington, to be absent from the command three days—for Lewis said we would not be able to join it again until we reached the Pueblo of Laguna, seventy to eighty miles beyond—taking with me one of my assistants, Mr. R. H. Kern, ever zealous in an enterprise of the kind; the faithful Bird, an employee, who had been with me ever since I left Fort Smith; Mr. Lewis as guide, and a single pack animal loaded with a few articles of bedding, a few cooking utensils, and some provisions; we left the troops, not expecting to meet them again until we should reach Laguna. Bearing off slightly to the right, from the route we had been following, we traversed for eight miles, a country varied in places by low mesas, (table lands,) blackened along their crests by outcrops of amygdaloid, and on our left by fantastic white and red sandstone rocks; some of them looking like steamboats, and others presenting very much the appearance of facades of heavy Egyptian architecture. This distance traversed, we came to a quadrangular mass of sandstone rock, of a pearly whitish aspect, from 200 to 250 feet in height, and strikingly peculiar on account of its massive character, and the Egyptian style of its natural buttresses and domes. Skirting this stupendous mass of rock, on its left or north side, for about a mile, the guide, just as we reached its eastern *terminus*, left us, and ascended the low mound or *talus* at its base, the better, as it appeared, to scan the face of the rock, upon which he evidently expected to find something interesting. Scarcely had he reached the rock, before he halloed to us to come up. Following his footsteps, we reached the face of the rock; and sure enough, here were the inscriptions of which we had heard so much; many of them very beautiful, and doubtless some of them of historical value. We did not, it is true, find *half* an acre of them, but we found enough to assure us that there had been greater hyperboles than that uttered by Lewis. The fact, then, being certain that here were indeed, inscriptions of interest, if not of value—the earliest dating back to a period before the permanent settlement of Jamestown or Plymouth—dating back as far as 1606; all of them very ancient, and several of them very deeply, as well as beautifully engraved, I gave directions for a halt; the cook at once proceeding to get up a meal, and Mr. Kern and myself to making *fac similes* of the inscriptions.

These inscriptions we found both on the north and the south side of the rock; the greater portion being in old Spanish, with some sprinkling of what appeared to be an attempt at Latin, and the remainder in hieroglyphics, doubtless of Indian origin. The face of the rock wherever the inscriptions were found, is of a fair, plain surface, vertical in position, and the engravings have been principally executed by persons standing at the foot of the wall. A large number of hieroglyphics, and many names and dates, had, on account of lapse of time, become undecipherable; but there was still quite a number which could be read very legibly. I could give you a translation of all the inscriptions which we copied, but I will only present the substance of a few of them. One of them represented that Don Feliz Martinez, governor and captain general of the province of New Mexico, passed by there on the 26th day of August, 1716, for the purpose of reducing the Moquis to subjection. Another, that Balchelor Don Juan Ignacio de Arrasain, arrived there on the 28th September, 1637. Another, that the illustrious Doctor Don Martin de Liza Cochea, Bishop of Durango, arrived there on the 27th September, 1737, and on the 29th left for Zuni. Another, that Joseph Dominguez passed by in October, and others in September, with much caution and apprehension. Another, that Don Francisco, somebody, (the surname is effaced,) passed by in 629; (among the Spanish, it is not at all uncommon to omit the thousand, and therefore it is probable that the date intended was 1629,) with the wagons of his

lord, the King, a thing, which he alone did, by his arm and valor. Another, that on the 14th day of July, 1736, General Juan Paez Hurtador, inspector, passed by, and in his company, several others whose names are given. (This officer, according to Senor Vigil, was afterwards, or before, governor of New Mexico.) Another, represents that a couple of fellows had fought about some matter or other, and that liquor had had something to do with it. Another, represents that Bartolome Narrso, governor and captain general of the province of New Mexico, for his lord, the King, passed by that place on the 29th of July, 1620, on his return from the Pueblo of Zuni, to which pueblo he had, at its petition, granted terms of peace; all which it did with free consent, deeming it to be prudent and very christian, to submit itself to so distinguished, gallant, indomitable and famed a soldier! Another represented, that a person or persons (the names were not decipherable,) passed by there on the 16th of April, 1606. This date is very indistinct. In another place, however, the date 1619 is very plain. Another inscription, represents that General Don Diego de Bargas, had, in 1692, conquered, at his own expense, for the royal crown, as far as Santa Fe. This inscription is very beautiful. It was this same general, who after a ten years war with the Indians, reconquered for the crown, the province of New Mexico, and became its governor. There is now to be found in the archives of the government at Santa Fe, his journal for a space of three years, one of the years corresponding to the date, 1692, found upon the rock. From this journal, which I have examined, Mr. Samuel Ellison, the official interpreter of the government, kindly extracted for me the following. I give the extract, both on account of the correspondence of its date with that on the rock, and also, on account of the information which it gives of the previous Spanish Roman Catholic rule, which obtained over the people of Zuni.

"Tuesday, 11th November, 1692. I, the said governor and captain general, on this day, entered the Pueblo of Zuni, and received the submission of its people. On the same day, the Rev. Fathers Corbera and Banoso baptized 294 children, male and female. This concluded, I was conducted to a room, and shown an altar, on which were burning two large tallow candles. Removing a piece of ornament, I found the following articles of religious worship: two brass images of Christ, four inches long, set in wooden crosses; also, another image of Christ, eighteen inches long; a portrait of John the Baptist, beautifully executed; one consecrated vase, gilded with gold; a small box with two plates of glass, in which the host is exposed to public view; four chalices, all of silver, and of different patterns; one ancient mass book, very well preserved; one confession book in the Spanish and in the Mexican language, &c., &c."

It is something remarkable, that mention should have been made by De Bargas, of a confession book in the Spanish and the Mexican language. Certainly this fact, evidences that this people must, at that time, have had a *written* language of *their own*.

The inscriptions having been sufficiently scanned, we felt anxious to see the ruins which Lewis had told us we would find on top of the inscription rock; so, taking him as our guide, I requested him to conduct us to the spot. Turning the east end of the wall, and going along its south face, we soon came against a spur of the same rock, extending southwardly. In the angle formed by the main rock and this spur, canopied by some magnificent rocks, and shaded by a few pine trees, we found a cool and capacious spring—the whole forming, for this country, a most exquisite picture. Continuing along the east face of the spur referred to, we came to an accessible escarpment, up which we commenced our ascent; Lewis, taking off his shoes, as he said, to enable him to accomplish it more safely. After slipping several times, with some little apprehension of an absolute slide off, and a pause to take breath, I at last reached the summit, to be regaled with a most extensive and pleasing prospect. On the north and east, lay, stretching from southwest to northeast, the Sierra du Zuni, richly covered with pine and cedar; to the south could be seen gracefully swelling mounds and distant peaks, beautifully blue on account of remoteness; to the west appeared the horizontal outline of table heights, with here and there a break, denoting an intervening canon or valley; and lying between all these objects, and my point of view, was a circuit of prairie, beautifully tasty on account of solitary and clustered trees, or somberly dark on account of low *mesas* and oblong ridges covered with cedars. This extensive scene sufficiently viewed, we proceeded to examine the ruins which the

guide, true to his word, pointed out immediately before us. These ruins presented, in plan, a rectangle, 206 by 307 feet; the sides conforming to the four cardinal points. The apartments seemed to have been like those on the Chaco, chiefly on the contour of the rectangle; the heaps of rubbish, within the court, indicated that here, also, there had been some apartments. On the north and west sides there appeared to have been two ranges of rooms. The other two sides, were in so ruinous a condition as to make the partition walls undistinguishable. On the north side we found traceable, a room seven feet four inches, by eight and a half feet. There was one circular estufa apparent, thirty feet in diameter, situated just in rear of the middle of the north face. The main walls, which, except for a length of about twenty feet, were undistinguishable, appeared from this remnant to have been originally well laid; the facing exposing a compact tabular sandstone, varying from three to eight inches in thickness, and the backing a rubble kind of masonry, cemented with mud mortar. The style of the masonry, though *next* in character to that of the pueblo ruins on the Chaco, in the beauty of its details we found to be far inferior. Here, as usual, immense quantities of broken pottery lay scattered around, and of patterns different from any we had hitherto seen. Indeed, to have caused so much broken pottery, it would seem there must have been at some time or other a regular sacking of the place; and this may also account for this singular phenomenon being a characteristic of the ancient ruins generally in New Mexico. At all events, there is nothing of the kind to be seen around the inhabited pueblos of the present day, in which pottery is much used; and I can see no reason why, if their inhabitants were of their own accord to desert them, they should go to work and destroy the useful vessels made of this kind of material.

To the north of west, about 300 yards distant—a deep canon intervening—on the summit of the same massive rock upon which the inscriptions are found, we could see another ruined pueblo, in plan and extent apparently the same as that of the ruins I have already described. On account of this intervening chasm, and time not permitting us, we did not, however, visit these ruins.

But it is high time I should bring this narrative to a close. The next morning, after a hard night's rest upon the ground, with but a scanty covering, and a saddle for a pillow, the wolves all night long annoying us with their howling, we started off in pursuit of the troops. These we overtook the same day—two days sooner than our guide, Lewis, told us we would do. The only remaining objects of interest we beheld on our route, were the numerous piles of lava which we found scattered for miles along the bottoms of the Canon de Gallo, and of the valley of the Ojo de Gallo. These piles looked like so many irregular heaps of stone coal; and wherever they existed, the soil in proximity I noticed was very fertile. Just before we entered the valley of the Rio San Jose, we saw hundreds of acres of this kind of rock, a great deal of it exhibiting, with marked distinctness, the undulations of the wave in its oscillatory motion. By applying a perpendicular to these curves, I endeavored to trace up the crater or source of the outflow, but it eventuated in nothing satisfactory. I ascended an adjoining hill to overlook the whole field, and observed the lava to exist in convex ridges, ranging generally north and south; the transverse sections being also convex, and broken abruptly at the extremities. Indeed, their whole appearance seemed to point to the following processes of formation, rather than to a translation from some distant crater: First, a swelling or intumescence of the fluid mass, longitudinally from a fissure immediately below their present locality; second, to a partial overflow after the fluid mass reached the surface of the earth; third, a fixedness of condition, caused by refrigeration, before it could spread laterally to any considerable extent; and fourth, a tumbling in at the sides from disintegrating causes, such as air and water, and the want of subjacent support.

But I have already trespassed too long on your patience, and I will therefore remark that the expedition returned to Santa Fe on the 26th of September; its whole duration having been a month and ten days, and the distance travelled 581 miles.

Never, probably, was there an expedition conducted with greater skill, and good judgment, on the part of the commander-in-chief, than was this; and never, probably, was there one in our own country which evolved so many rare and curious objects of nature and art.

Thanking you for the attention you have kindly given me, I close my remarks.

LETTER OF MESNARD,

WRITTEN ON THE EVE OF EMBARKATION FOR LAKE SUPERIOR.

In August, 1654, two young men went on a voyage from the settlements of Canada, to the far Northwest. After an absence of two years, they returned with interesting accounts of the inland seas, and of the Knisteneaux and Sioux or Dakota; and reported that the distant tribes demanded "commerce with the French and missionaries for the boundless West."

In accordance with their request, two missionaries were despatched from Quebec; but not far from Montreal, the Mohawks attacked the convoy and killed one of the priests, and the project for a time was abandoned.

In the year 1659, Charlevoix says that two traders passed the winter on the shores of Lake Superior. Filled with curiosity, they pushed beyond the confines of the Sioux. They saw some Dakota women with the tips of their noses cut off, and a portion of their heads scalped, and were told that this was the penalty inflicted upon adulteresses. They also learned that this nation were numerous, and roamed over a great extent of country.

In the summer of 1660, these two Frenchmen returned to Quebec with sixty canoes, manned by Algonquins and laden with furs. Their narrative again excited the zeal of the ecclesiastics, and Rene Menard, (or Mesnard as Charlevoix and Bancroft spell it) who had for some years been a missionary among the Iroquois in the present state of New York, was selected as the bearer of the cross to the Lake of the Nadouessons, as it was sometimes called, or Superior.

The night before he started, the eyes of the venerable priest were never closed. He knew that he was going to a savage land, and that one of those who had been previously selected, had been murdered on the route. He thought much of his friends, and among his last acts he wrote the following letter, for a copy of which, in the original, the Society is indebted to C. Woodman, Esq., of Mineral Point, Wis., and for the translation to the Rev. Mr. Raveaux, of Mendota:

"MON R. P.—PAX CHRISTI.

"Je vous escriis probablement le derniere mot, que je souhaite estre le sceau de nostre amitie jusques a l'eternite *ama quem Dominus Jesus, non dedignatur amare, quamquam maximum peccatorum; amat enim quem dignatur sua cruce*: que vostre amitie mon bon pere me soit dedaus les fruits souhaitables de vos saints sacrifices. Dans trois ou quatre mois, vous pourrez me mettre au memento des morts, veu le geure de vie de ces peuples, mon aage et ma petite complexion; non obstant quoy, j'ay senti de si puissans instincts, et j'ay ven eu cet affaire si peu de nature, que je n'ay peu douter qu'ayant manque a cette occasion, je n'eu dusse avoir me remords eternel. Nous avons esta me peu surpris, pour ne pouvoir pas nous poutuoir d'abits et d'autres choses; mais celuy qui nourrit les petits oiseaux, et habille les, lis des champs, aura soin de ses serviteurs; et quand il nous arriveroit de mourir de misere, ce nous seroit un grand bonheur, Je suis accable d'affairs; tout ce que je puis, c'est de recom-mander nostre voyage a vos saints sacrifices et vous embrasser du mesne coeur que jespere faire dans l'eternitie.

Mon R. P. vostre tres humblement,

et affectionne serviteur en Jesus Christ,

R. MENARD.

Des trois Rivieres ce 27 d'aoust a }
2 heures apres minuit, 1660." }

TRANSLATION.

MY REVEREND FATHER—THE PEACE OF CHRIST BE WITH YOU:

I write to you probably the last word, which I hope will be the seal of our friendship until eternity. Love whom the Lord Jesus did not disdain to love, though the greatest of sinners, for he loves whom he loads with his cross. Let your friendship, my good father, be useful to me by the desirable fruits of your daily sacrifice. In three or four months, you may remember me at the memento for the dead, on account of my old age, my weak constitution, and the hardships I lay under amongst these tribes. Nevertheless, I am in peace, for I have not been led to this mission by any temporal motive, but I think it was by the voice of God. I was afraid, by not coming here, to resist the grace of God. Eternal remorse would have tormented me, had I not come, when I had the opportunity. We have been a little surprised, not being able to provide ourselves with vestments and other things; but he who feeds the little birds and clothes the lilies of the fields, will take care of his servants; and though it should happen we should die with want, we would esteem ourselves happy. I am loaded with affairs. What I can do is to recommend our journey to your daily sacrifices, and to embrace you with the same sentiments of heart, as I hope to do in eternity.

My reverend father, your most humble
and affectionate servant in Jesus Christ,

R. MENARD.

From the Three Rivers, this 27th August, }
2 o'clock after midnight, 1660. }

This letter is touching in its simplicity, and could hardly have been written by one who had not been filled with the spirit of Jesus. As soon as a Christian people begin to dwell upon the shores of Lake Superior, it will be embalmed in their literature, and read and admired by those whose tastes are refined. His anticipations were realized, and in a few months he was added "to the memento of deaths." Immediately after he penned the letter, he started, with a band of Ottawas, for Lake Superior. During his journey he was exposed to the ridicule of his wild companions, and obliged to subsist on the coarsest Indian fare.

On the 15th of October, he reached a bay which he named Saint Theresa, and is supposed to have been the bay of Keweena. After a residence of eight months, amid piles of ice and snow, and with his life in his hands, he accepted the invitation of some Hurons, according to Charlevoix, and proceeded to their island home at La Pointe, called by them Chegoimegon (by Mesnard, St. Michael) in spite of the remonstrances of the French traders, accompanied by a faithful man, named John Guerin, who had been in the service of the missionaries for many years.

On the 20th of August, 1661, he was obliged to walk some distance to avoid rapids; and while his old servant was occupied in making a portage with the canoe, he entered the woods and was lost.

Guerin, in much distress, called for him at the top of his voice, discharged his gun, and made several turns through the forest, but Mesnard made not his appearance.

A century ago, the report was current at Montreal, that some years after he disappeared in the wood, (as it is supposed near Keweena portage) his cassock and prayer-book were found in a Dakota lodge, and were looked upon as "wakan" or supernatural.

To this day, it is unknown whether the aged man perished from starvation and exposure, or by violence from the savages. But there appears to be the well-grounded hope, that the "Providence which feeds the little birds of the desert, and clothes the wild flowers of the forests," became his shepherd, and that when he came to die, he was enabled to dwell with profit on the following sentences of his well-thumbed breviary:

"The Lord is my Shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leaveth me beside the still waters. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of Death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me."

ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

It is a fact worthy of remembrance, that the first British traveller in Minnesota, was the first to call the attention of the civilized world to the existence of ancient monuments in the Mississippi valley. Carver, in his narrative of a visit to what is now Minnesota, in 1766, says:

"On the first of November, I reached Lake Pepin, a few miles below which I landed; and whilst the servants were preparing my dinner, I ascended the bank to view the country. I had not proceeded far, before I came to a fine, level, open plain, on which I perceived, at a little distance, a partial elevation that had the appearance of an entrenchment. On a nearer inspection, I had greater reason to suppose that it had really been intended for this many centuries ago. Notwithstanding it was now covered with grass, I could plainly see that it had once been a breastwork of about four feet in height, extending the best part of a mile, and sufficiently capacious to cover five thousand men. Its form was somewhat circular, and its flanks reached to the river.

"Though much defaced by time, every angle was distinguishable, and appeared as regular and fashioned with as much military skill, as if planned by Vauban himself. The ditch was not visible; but I thought, on examining more curiously, that I could perceive there certainly had been one. From its situation, also, I am convinced that it must have been designed for this purpose. It fronted the country, and the rear was covered by the river, nor was there any rising ground for a considerable way that commanded it; a few straggling lakes were alone to be seen near it. In many places small tracks were worn across it by the feet of the elks and deer, and from the depth of the bed of earth by which it was covered, I was able to draw certain conclusions of its great antiquity. I examined all the angles and every part with great attention, and have often blamed myself since, for not encamping on the spot, and drawing an exact plan of it. To show that this description is not the offspring of a heated imagination, or the chimerical tale of a mistaken traveller, I find, on enquiry, since my return that Mons. St. Pierre and several traders have, at different times, taken notice of similar appearances, on which they have formed the same conjectures, but without examining them so minutely as I did. How a work of this kind could exist in a country that has hitherto (according to the generally received opinion) been the seat of war to untutored Indians alone, whose whole stock of military knowledge has only, till within two centuries, amounted to drawing the bow, and whose only breast-work, even at present, is the thicket, I know not. I have given as exact an account as possible of this singular appearance, and leave to future explorers of those distant regions, to discover whether it is a production of nature or art. Perhaps the hints I have here given might lead to a more perfect investigation of it, and give us very different ideas of the ancient state of realms, that we at present believe to have been, from the earliest period, only the habitations of savages."

Featherstonaugh, the geologist, visited this supposed fortification, and thought it might be a work of art; but the general impression is, that Carver saw nothing more than a sand or gravel ridge, hollowed out by the winds, or grooved by the heavy rains.

Though Carver was mistaken, it is still true that Minnesota abounds in mounds and piles of stones, the work of a past race.

When the Dakotas are asked by travellers, what mean ye by these stones? neither they nor their children answer, except to say that they were in existence when their fathers first came to this country. The accompanying communications from the Revs. Mr. Pond and Aiton, it is hoped will stimulate other citizens who live in the vicinity of ancient monuments, to write a description and forward it to the Historical Society.

IOWA INDIANS AND MOUNDS.

BY REV. G. H. POND—MISSIONARY AMONG THE DAKOTAS.

Takoha, the old war prophet, says that the Iowa Indians never occupied the country around the mouth of the Minnesota river. He affirms that it once belonged to the Winnebagoes, who were long ago driven from it by the Dakotas—a few others of the Dakotas agree with Takoha. But Black Tomahawk, who is by some of the most intelligent half-breeds, considered the best Mdewakantonwan traditionist, says, that in the earliest years of the existence of the Dakotas, they became acquainted with the Iowa Indians, and that they lived in a village at the place which is now called Oak Grove, seven or eight miles from Fort Snelling, on the north side of the Minnesota river. The numerous little mounds which are to be seen about Oak Grove, he says, are the works of the Iowa Indians.

The old man says, that in ancient times, when the Dakotas had no arms but the bow and stone or horn headed arrows, and used knives and axes manufactured from the same materials, these little mounds which we now see at the place above named, were the dwellings of the Iowas. They were the enemies of the Dakotas, who used occasionally to make a war-path from Mille Lac, where they then resided, down to the Iowa village, and carry off with them scalps, which made glad the hearts of their wives and daughters. The strife between the two nations eventually became desperate, and the gods, who are always deeply interested in Indian wars, espoused the cause of the Dakotas.

The thunder, which the Dakotas believe to be a winged monster, and which in character seems to answer very well to the Mars of the ancient heathen, bore down upon the Iowa village in a most terrible and god-like manner, Tempests howled, the forked lightnings flashed, and the THUNDERS uttered their voices; the earth trembled; a thunder-bolt was hurled at the devoted village, which ploughed the earth, and formed that deep ravine near the present dwelling of Peter Quinn. This occurrence unnerved the Iowas, and the Dakotas, taking advantage of it, fell upon their enemies and drove them across the Minnesota river, and burned up their village.

The Iowas then built another village on the south side of the river, near the present planting grounds of Grey Iron, where they remained till the Dakotas obtained firearms, when they fought their last battle with them in Minnesota, on Pilot Knob, back of Mendota. The Iowas who escaped on this occasion fled, and erected their next village at the mouth of the Iowa river, from which they were again eventually driven by the Dakotas, towards the Missouri. The old man from whom we gather the substance of what has gone before, says that these mounds are the remains of the dwelling houses of the ancient Iowas. Some say that they are not the remains of the dwellings of the Iowas, but those of some other people with whom tradition does not acquaint them; and others, still, say that they are ancient burial places.

The following two or three facts may not be without interest to the reader. Some six years since, Mr. Quinn, of Oak Grove, removed the earth of one of these mounds, at the same place where Black Tomahawk says the ancient Iowa village stood. As the earth was removed, on a level with the natural surrounding surface, charred poles and human bones were found. It was easy and natural for the imagination to supply the rest, and make the fact corroborate the tradition of the old man, when he says that the Iowas constructed their houses by leaning poles together at the top, and spreading

them at the foot, forming a circular frame, which they covered with earth. In one of these houses a man or woman had been killed, and the timbers of the house fired, which, of course, would let the earth fall in upon the dead body and burning poles. At a subsequent period, when the son of Black Tomahawk was killed by a Chippewa, who was one of the little *peace-party* of Hole-in-the-Day, *Sen.*, the Indians opened another of these mounds, near Mr. Quinn's door, to inter the dead body. Smoky-Day affirms, that on that occasion they discovered "many human skull bones and sets of teeth, carefully placed in a row." This seems to corroborate the other story of tradition, that these mounds were the burial places of early tribes. The earth of a third mound was lately removed, and nothing of the kind discovered. Smoky-Day informs me, that at Lake Traverse, a Dakota once, who was ambitious to be inspired by the gods, caused a hole to be opened in the centre of one of these mounds, in doing which quite a number of human bones were thrown up. It is the common practice of the Dakotas, who desire to be *wakan*, or inspired by the supernatural powers, to stretch themselves on the ground in some solitary place, and there remain till the gods draw near with their communications, which I believe generally occurs in the darkness of the night. On the above occasion, the "dreamer," for they call it dreaming, placed himself in the centre of the mound, in the midst of the human bones. When the stillness of night brooded over his dreaming place, the spirits, whose bones he had disturbed, hovered around and treated him so rudely, that in his fright he fled for his life, and remained an uninspired man.

LETTER FROM MR. J. F. AITON.

"What mean ye by these stones?"

To Rev. E. D. Neill, St. Paul, M. T. :

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the third instant, relating to the stone heaps near Red Wing, was duly received.

I am happy to comply with your request, hoping that it may lead to an accurate survey of these mounds.

In 1848 I first heard of stone heaps, on the hill tops, back from Red Wing. But business, and the natural suspicion of the Indian, prevented me from exploring. The treaty of Mendota emboldened me to visit the hills, and try to find the stone heaps. Accordingly, late last autumn, I started on foot and alone from Red Wing, following the path marked P on the map, which I herewith transmit. I left the path after crossing the second stream, and turning to the left, I ascended the first hill that I reached. This is about a mile distant from the path that leads from Fort Snelling to Lake Pepin. There, on the brow of the hill, which was about 200 feet high, was a heap of stones. It is about twelve feet in diameter and six in height. The perfect confusion of the stones, and yet the entireness of the heap, and the denuded rocks all around, convinced me that the heap had been formed from stones lying around, picked up by the hand of man.

But *why*, and *when* it had been done were questions not so easily decided. For solving these, I resolved to seek internal evidence. Prompted by the spirit of a first explorer, I soon ascended the heap; and the coldness of the day, and the proximity of my gun, tended to suppress my dread of rattle-snakes. The stones were such that I could lift, or roll them, and I soon reached a stick about two feet from the top of the heap. After descending about a foot farther I pulled the post out; and about the same place found a shank bone, about five inches long. The post was red cedar, half decayed, i. e. one side, and rotted to a point in the ground; hence I could not tell whether it grew there or not. The bone is similar to the two which you have. I left it and the post on the heap, hoping that some one better skilled in osteology might

visit the heap. The stones of the heap are magnesian limestone, which forms the upper stratum of the hills about Red Wing.

Much pleased, I started south over the hill top, and was soon greeted by another silent monument of art. This heap is marked B on the map. It is similar to the first which is marked A, only it is larger, and was so covered with a vine that I had no success in opening it. From this point there is a fine view southward. The valleys and hills are delightful. Such hills and vales, such cairns and bushy glens, would, in my father's land, have been the thrones and play grounds of fairies. But I must stick to facts. I now started eastward to visit a conical appearing hill, distant about a mile and a half. I easily descended the hill, but to cross the plain and ascend another hill, "*hic labor est.*" But I was amply repaid. The hill proved to be a ridge, with several stone heaps on the summit. Near one heap there is a beautiful little tree, with a top like "Tam O'Shanter's" bonnet. In these heaps I found the bones which I left with you. I discovered each about half way down the heaps.

I then descended northward about 200 feet, crossed a valley, past some earth mounds, and ascended another hill, and there found several more stone heaps similar to the others. In them I found no bones, nor did I see anything else worthy of particular notice at present.

If these few facts should, in any measure, help to preserve correct information concerning any part of this new country, I shall be amply rewarded for writing.

Your obedient servant,

J. F. AITON.

KAPOKIA, Jan. 17, 1852.

NOTE. For the information of the distant reader, it is perhaps well to state that Red Wing is the name given by the whites to the Dakota village, Remnica, a word in their language signifying earth, wood and water.

It is situated at the head of Lake Pepin, in the vicinity of the bluff, to which the voyageurs have given the name of La Grange, or The Barn.

THE EARLY NOMENCLATURE OF MINNESOTA.

The principal rivers and lakes of the West, have received their names from the ecclesiastic, on his way to raise the standard of the cross among distant tribes, or from the explorer, anxious for fame, and to unfold the banner of France, over new allies.

We must, therefore, expect to find two classes of names given to our streams; one pertaining to men of ecclesiastical, the other to men of political renown. The first educated white man that saw the falls of the Mississippi, was a Franciscan priest, of the branch called Recollect; and it was perfectly natural that he should have named the falling waters, after the distinguished divine and orator of Padua, Anthony. For a few months, this priest was detained by the Dakotas of Mille Lac, and vicinity, and in naming the river that flows from that lake into the Mississippi, he thought that it would be appropriate to call it after the founder of the order to which he belonged, Francis of Assisi.

Those who sought the Upper Mississippi, after Hennepin, were not ecclesiastics. This stream had already been named Colbert, in honor of the great statesman and minister of marine in France. It is not to be wondered at, that Le Sueur, finding that the Illinois, also, had been named Seignelay, after Colbert's son, should, in passing through the lake of Tears, as named by Hennepin, call it Pepin, in remembrance of the royal house of France.

As he passed Hogan-wanke-kin, of the Dakota, the river of the grave of Hennepin, one of the exploring party fell overboard, and the sad occurrence was perpetuated, by giving the name of the drowned man, Saint Croix, to this stream. A similar occurrence, at a later day, gave the name of Patterson, to the rapids of the Upper Minnesota.

Le Sueur was the father of D'Iberville, one of the most distinguished naval heroes that Canada has ever produced. One of his son's companions in a conflict with English ships, in Hudson's Bay, was Lieut. Saint Pierre. In honor of this military companion of his son, he named the river which he was the first to describe, Saint Pierre. This officer appears to have been the Captain Saint Pierre, who had charge of the post on Lake Pepin.

The stockade he built on the Mankato, or Blue Earth, he named L'Huilier, in honor of the Parisian, who had furnished men and means for the exploration. Upon a map published before the American revolution, the tributary of the Blue Earth, to which Nicollet has given the name of Le Sueur, is called Saint Remi, who appears to have been a distinguished man in Canada, at the commencement of the eighteenth century.

N.

MINNESOTA—ITS NAME AND ORIGIN.

BY DR. THOMAS S. FOSTER.

The name of the Territory is pronounced as if spelled Min-nee-so-tah, It is derived from the Indian name of the principal local stream of the Territory.

The Dakotas or Sioux, who live on its banks, thus call it, on account of the different appearance of the waters from those of the Mississippi.

The waters of the latter are often chocolate colored, being tinged by their passage through the northern pine and tamarack swamps; while the waters of the Minnesota are entirely different in appearance, being light colored and clear.

The name is compounded of two words, "minne," meaning water, and "sotah."

The exact signification of the last word is somewhat obscure. Various authorities render it *whitish*, or *turbid*, or *cloudy*, or *gray*, and some even *muddy*. Nicollet thought *blear* and Featherstonhaugh though *clear* was the proper interpretation. The Rev. G. H. Pond, for many years resident missionary among the Dakotas, and acknowledged to be the highest authority on questions of Dakota philology, expressed to the writer the opinion that SKY-COLORED more clearly and precisely expressed the meaning of "sotah" in this connection. Minnesota, therefore, is literally "THE TERRITORY OF THE SKY-COLORED WATER."

ST. LOUIS RIVER.

BY REV. T. M. FULLERTON.

The head of Lake Superior is about five miles wide, the shore forming nearly a regular semi-circle. The St. Louis river enters the lake near the middle of this bend. The entrance from the lake is about west, forty or fifty rods, when the river bends suddenly to the north, keeping its course parallel with the lake shore about half a mile, when the course is again changed to the southwest. Here the river widens out into a bay about six miles long, and in places two miles wide ; having several small islands in it. The bend of the river, near the mouth, forms a peninsula between its north bank and the lake, about a mile long, and averaging about a quarter of a mile in width. It is a body of sand, producing only some small evergreen underbrush, and a beautiful grove of tall, straight, limbless yellow pines. On the south side of the river, there is a tract of several hundred acres of low land, a portion of which is similar to that on the north side, but much of it is swampy. The American Fur Company, previous to 1840, had a trading post here, about half a mile from the lake, but it was subsequently removed to Fon du Lac, at the foot of the falls.

The river, at its mouth, is less than a quarter of a mile wide, and obstructed by a sand bar, holding countless snags ; but on passing this a few rods, brings the boat beyond the bend, into calm, deep water, in any weather. At the head of the bay, the traveller is in want of a pilot. From that point to the falls, the river is full of islands and fields of wild rice, around and through which, there are numerous channels. The inexperienced may row several miles, and find himself at the head of a bay or cove, and be under the necessity of returning to seek the true channel. From the lake to the falls, called twenty miles, the northern shore is bold and rugged, except in a few places where it falls back, forming a small plat of table land between it and the river, or gives vent to a small mountain stream. The bluffs, on the south side, are similar to those on the north for several miles below the falls ; they there disappear. The Fon du Lac river, from the southwest, enters the lake about two miles south of the outlet of the St. Louis, and the valleys of the two rivers are merged in one some six or seven miles from the lake.

A few rods below the falls, a creek of pure, never-failing water from the north, forms a junction with the river. The west side of the valley, formed by this creek, is occupied by the American Fur Company, and the east by the missionary establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The whole valley does not afford above eighty acres of arable land.

The general face of the country around Fon du Lac, is mountainous. On the river, and small streams, there are a few acres of good soil in places, but most of the low lands are impenetrable white cedar swamps. Back of these there is usually a plat of table land, covered with hard maple, birch, basswood and other timbers indigenous to river bottoms in the Southwestern States, together with here and there very large white pines. Still farther back, mountains tower up towards Heaven. The soil on some of these is good, but most of them are marshy. White pine and birch are the predominating timbers on the mountains. Large boulders are numerous, as well on these mountains as on the table lands and river bottoms.

About three miles north of Fon du Lac, a peak of one of the mountains towers far above all others. The only ascent, is on the north side, and is tolerably easy for a

footman. The south side is a perpendicular rock of several hundred feet in height. The summit is a level bare rock. The stone, forming this peak, is unlike any thing else seen in the country. It is of a dark grey color, and so close in texture, that the united strength of myself and interpreter, could not break a piece of it by hurling it against the mass on which we stood. The beholder can scarcely resist the impression, that he stands on a pyramid in the midst of an immense basin, whose outer rim is the limit of human vision. Lake Superior, though twenty miles distant, appears as if lying at his feet, and stretching itself away to the east, until sight loses it in the distance; and the river, with its islands, channels, and rice fields, is all in full view, from the falls to its mouth. The writer has never seen another spot where such a comprehensive view of the vastness of creation could be obtained.

The falls of St. Louis river, are nothing more than a succession of rapids for the distance of about fifteen miles, except at the head of "Knife Portage." At that point, the water falls about ten feet perpendicularly. Above that point, to the mouth of Savannah river, eighty miles from the lake, there are few banks seen in high water. The bottoms are several miles wide, in places, indeed, most of the way, and often overflowed. But from Fon du Lac, to the above named falls, the water rushes through a narrow gorge, the banks in several places, being from fifty to one hundred feet high, and always crumbling in. In several places within two miles of Fon du Lac, they are composed of shale, sand, and boulders; the slaty shale lying in regular stratum, dipping several degrees westward on the south side, and equally eastward on the north side. Just above these banks, on the north side of the river, an acre or more of trap rock mixed with copper, precisely like that below Lapointe, is exposed to view in low water. It has the appearance of having once been covered with a bank similar to those above described, which has washed away; and it was the opinion of the writer, that the same formation might be found under many of the hills around the falls. Up the creek before mentioned, a mile from the river, the same mixture of shale and sand may be seen in many places. The Indians considered this metallic substance in the trap rock, valuable, and in the treaty made at Lapointe, in 1842, they reserved this spot, stipulating that the trader's store, one mile below, should be the corner of that cession. The head chief often told the writer, that he expected to take out a great amount of wealth from the river, at that spot, as soon as he should get the means.

The first portage on these falls, is about eight miles long, on the north side of the river. It is over a very rough country, through several very swampy places, and is generally impracticable for horses, or any thing that cannot walk a pole. At the head of this portage, canoes are used again, for two miles, and there the "Knife Portage" is made on the south side of the river, three miles, to the grand falls, above alluded to. In high water, both of these portages are longer. On both sides of the river at the Knife Portage, much of the surface of the ground is covered with masses of slate, equal to any hone for edged tools. They have the appearance of being thrown up by some internal revolution, there being nothing like order or regularity in their position, and the intervening ground being even.

Europeans who have seen this slate, allege that it is equal to that used in England for tiling. The supply, even on the surface of the ground, is inexhaustible.

There can scarcely be a limit to the amount of fish, pickerel chiefly, that may be taken on the rapids during about three weeks of the spring. In the spring of 1843, the writer often saw a two-fathom canoe filled in one hour in the morning, by two men, one steering and the other using a dip-net. Both work the canoe up the rapids sufficiently far, when one stands in the bow with the net, while the other backs the canoe with his might, in addition to the rapidity of the current. From twenty to fifty large fishes are frequently thus taken in passing about twenty rods of the rapids.

INDIAN TRADE.

A SKETCH OF THE EARLY TRADE AND TRADERS OF MINNESOTA.

BY EDWARD D. NEILL.

Mille Laes is the Spirit lake of the Dakotas. Surrounded by forests of maple; the marshes in its vicinity, fertile in the growth of the wild rice; its clear waters the abode of an abundance of fish, it is a place above all others for an Indian to choose as a home. It is not therefore strange, that this lake, serrated with peninsulas, and studded with isles, should have been the ancient residence of the ancestors of the Dakotas, who now dwell on the Mississippi and the lower portion of the Minnesota, and should have given them the name of Mdewakantonwan, dwellers of the Spirit Lake.

The persons whose names are preserved, that first attempted to engage in trade with the Dakotas, were Michael Ako, and Picard du Gay, *alias* Anthony Auguello, a native of Amiens. They were the voyageurs who left Fort Crevecoeur, on the Illinois, and acted as the oarsmen of the Franciscan, Hennepin. In April, 1680, as is well known, the party were taken captive by the Dakotas of Mille Lac. The outfit of these voyageurs was furnished by the enterprising La Salle, and was valued at about one hundred and eighty dollars. Besides this, there were given to Hennepin, ten knives, twelve shoemakers' awls or bodkins, a roll of tobacco, a parcel of needles, and some beads.

After they had been in the vicinity of Mille Laes about two months, Wah-zee-koo-tay, a Dakota chief, invited them and father Hennepin to go on a buffalo hunt. The party descending the St. Francis, (now Rum river,) continued down the Mississippi, as far as the Wisconsin. They then retraced their steps as far as Buffalo river, and then descended again. On the 28th of July, they began to ascend the Mississippi once more, and while encamped on its banks, Sieur du Luth, and five other Frenchmen from Canada, unexpectedly made their appearance.

SIEUR DU LUTH.

As they could not speak the Dakota tongue, they asked Picard, Ako, and Hennepin, to leave the hunting party and go back to the villages, to which request, they consented. On the 14th of August they arrived at the villages in the neighborhood of Mille Laes. They remained trading until towards the end of September, when the Frenchmen told the Indians, that to procure them iron and other merchandize which was useful, it was necessary that they should return to Canada, and at a certain time they would return half way with their goods, if the Indians would meet them there with furs. The Dakotas held a council, and decided that they might leave the country without molestation. Wah-zee-koo-tay, gave them some sacks of wild rice, and then upon a sheet of paper which was given to him, he marked out their course for many miles. In two canoes, these eight Europeans, passed through the rice lakes of Rum river, and entered the Mississippi.

While at the Falls of Saint Anthony, two of De Luth's party carried away beaver robes, which had been hung there as a sort of oblation. Wah-zee-koo-tay, hearing of this, started in pursuit, and was only appeased by the present of some tobacco.

By way of the Wisconsin, Du Luth and his party reached Canada in the summer of 1681. Sieur du Luth was a man of great enterprise and decision of character, and his name is conspicuous in the annals of the wars between the French and Indians of New York. He had been absent from Canada two and a half years when he arrived in Minnesota. Either before, or upon his return, he had caused two Iroquois to be killed, who had assassinated two Frenchmen upon Lake Superior. This so incensed the Five Nations, that they declared war against the French. De La Barre, the governor of Canada, did all in his power to appease their wrath, but notwithstanding his protestations, in the month of March, 1684, a band of two hundred Seneca and Cayuga warriors, having met seven canoes, manned by fourteen Frenchmen, with fifteen or sixteen thousand pounds of merchandize, who were going to trade with the "Seious," pillaged them and took them prisoners without any resistance; and after detaining them nine days, sent them away without arms, food or canoes.

This attack caused the French much uneasiness, as they feared that the English, by forming an alliance with the Iroquois, might take possession of their posts at Mackinac, Port Creveceur, and Green Bay, and thus command the trade of all the distant nations. Governor De la Barre, therefore, despatched orders to Sieur de Luth, who was then at Green Bay, acting as Lieutenant under Durantaye, who was commander at Mackinac, to come to Canada and state the number of allies he could obtain. With great speed he came to Niagara, the place of rendezvous, with a band of Indians, and would alone have attacked the Senecas, had it not been for an express order of De la Barre to the contrary.

When Louis the Fourteenth heard of this outbreak, he felt, to use his words, "that it was a grave misfortune for the colony of New France," and then in his letter to the governor, he adds: "It appears to me that one of the principal causes of the war, arises from one Du Luth having caused two Iroquois to be killed, who had assassinated two Frenchmen, in Lake Superior, and you sufficiently see how much this man's voyage, which cannot produce any advantage to the colony, and which was permitted only in the interest of some private persons, has contributed to distract the repose of the colony."

The English of New York, knowing the hostility of the Iroquois to the French, used the opportunity to trade with the distant Indians. In 1685, one Roseboom, with some young men, had traded with the Ottawas in Michigan.

In the year 1686, an old Frenchman who had long lived among the Dutch and English in New York, came to Montreal, to visit a child at the Jesuit boarding school; and he stated that a Major McGregory, of Albany, was contemplating an expedition to Mackinac.

Denonville, the new governor of Canada, ordered Du Luth to proceed to the present Detroit river, and watch whether the English passed into Lake St. Clair. In accordance with the order, he left Green Bay. Being provided with fifty armed men, he established a post called fort St. Joseph, some thirty miles above Detroit.

In the year 1687, on the 19th of May, the brave and distinguished Tonty, who was a cousin of Du Luth, arrived at Detroit, from his fort on the Illinois. Durantaye and Du Luth, knowing that he had arrived, came down from fort St. Joseph with thirty captive English. Here Tonty and Du Luth joined forces and proceeded toward the Iroquois country. As they were coasting Lake Erie, they met and captured Major McGregory, of Albany, then on his way with thirty Englishmen, to trade with the Indians at Mackinac.

Du Luth, having reached Lake Ontario, we find him engaged in that conflict with the Senecas of the Genesee valley, when Father Angleran, the superintendent of the Mackinac mission, was severely but not mortally wounded. After this battle, he returned, in company with Tonty, to his post on the Detroit river.

In 1689, immediately previous to the burning of Schenectady, we find him again fighting the Iroquois in the neighborhood, and there is reason to suppose that he was engaged in the midnight sack of that town. As late as the year 1696, we find him on duty at Fort Frontenac; but after the peace of Ryswick, which occasioned a suspension of hostilities, we hear nothing more of this man, who was the first of whom we have any account, who came by way of Lake Superior to the upper Mississippi.

NICHOLAS PERROT.

Perrot was a man of good family, and in his youth applied himself to study; and he being for a time in the service of the Jesuits, became familiar with the customs and languages of the tribes upon the borders of our lakes. A native of Canada, accustomed from childhood to the excitement and incidents of a border life, he was to a certain extent prepared for the wild scenes witnessed in after days.

If the name of Joliet is worthy of preservation, the citizens of the Northwest ought not to be willing to let the name of that man die, who was the first of whom we have any account, that erected a trading post on the Upper Mississippi.

Some years before La Salle had launched the "Griffin" on Lake Erie, and commenced his career of discovery, Perrot, at the request of the authorities in Canada, who looked upon him as a man of great tact, visited the various nations of the Northwest, and invited them to a grand council at Sault St. Marie, for the purpose of making a treaty with France. Of mercurial temperament, he performed the journey with great speed, going as far south as Chicago, the site of the present city.

In May, 1671, there was seen at the Falls of St. Mary, what has been of late, a frequent occurrence. Here was the first convocation of civilized men, with the Aborigines of the Northwest, for the formation of a compact, for the purposes of trade and mutual assistance.

It was not only the custom, but the policy of the court of France to make a great display upon such an occasion. It is not to be wondered at therefore, that we should see the ecclesiastic and military officers, surrounded "with all of the pomp and circumstance" peculiar to their profession in that age of extravagance in externals.

Allouez, the first ecclesiastic who saw the Dakotas, face to face, and the founder of the mission among the Ojibwas, at La Pointe, opened the council, by detailing to the painted, grotesque assemblage, enveloped in the robes of the beaver and buffalo, the great power of his monarch who lived beyond the seas.

Two holes were then dug, in one of which was planted a cedar column, and in the other a cross of the same material. After this, the European portion of the assemblage chanted the hymn which was so often heard in the olden time from Lake Superior to Lake Ponchartrain—

Vexilla regis prodeunt
Fulget crucis mysterium,
Qua vita mortem perulit,
Et morte, vitam protulit.

The arms of France, probably engraved on leaden plates, were then attached to both column and cross, and again the whole company sang together the "Exaudiat," of the Roman Catholic service, the same as the twentieth psalm of the Protestant version of the Bible. The delegates, from the different tribes, having signified their approval of what Allouez had interpreted, of the speech of the French envoy, Saint Lussou, there was a grand discharge of musketry, and the chanting of the noble "Te Deum Laudamus."

After this alliance was concluded, Perrot seems to have remained in the country, and in a spirit of enterprise opened the trade with some of the more remote tribes.

When Du Luth, in 1684, was making preparations at Green Bay, to go to war against the Iroquois, Perrot, who happened to be engaged in trade among the Outagamis, (Foxes,) not very far distant from the bay, rendered him great assistance in collecting allies.

We learn nothing of the subject of our sketch, after this, until about the year 1687. He was then in company with another Canadian named Boisguillot, trading in the neighborhood of the Mississippi. In consequence of an order from the governor of Canada, with the exception of a guard left to protect his merchandise from the Sioux, he proceeded with all the French in his vicinity, to join the army of defence against the English and Iroquois.

In taking leave of the Dakotas, with whom he appears to have been trading, he

promised them that if they made war with the Indians who were allies of the French, they would be made to repent.

Six years after this, he is sent as envoy to the Miamis to break up their trade with the English. In the year 1696, the Indians dwelling on the river St. Joseph and vicinity, in Michigan, were attacked by the Dakotas. To revenge themselves, they made a war party, and went into the Dakota country. They found their enemies secretly entrenched in a sort of fort, and aided by several *courier de bois*. After a fierce attack, the Dakotas repulsed them, and while returning to their hunting grounds they had a skirmish with some Frenchmen who were bearing arms and goods to the Sioux.— Filled with a hate towards the French, Nicholas Perrot happened among them, and they would have burned him to death, had it not been for the intervention of the Outagamis, who were his friends.

A quarter of a century after the council at the Falls of St. Mary, there was another grand conference of Indian tribes held at Montreal. Here again we find Perrot in attendance as the interpreter for the tribes that then resided in the present states of Wisconsin and Illinois.

After this second treaty of peace in 1707, the Ottawas requested that he might be their leader, but did not wish "*Eau de vie*" brought among them as it broke their spirits. While engaged in trade in the Mississippi valley, he travelled as far as Rock Island, and some distance above the Des Moines he discovered some mines of lead, which, as late as 1721, bore his name.

Upon Nicollet's, and many other modern maps, on the east side of Lake Pepin, there are marked the ruins of an old French fort. Carver found these when he travelled here in 1766, and states that in that vicinity a trade was carried on with the Sioux or Dakotas, by the French.

Pike, in his journal appears to have this fort in view when he says: "Just below the Pt. de Sable, the French, under Frontenac, who had driven the Renards from the Wisconsin, and chased them up the Mississippi river, built a stockade on this lake (Pepin) as a barrier against the savages. It became a noted factory for the Sioux."

This fort was built by Perrot, and he and his comrades are those whom Dakota tradition asserts gave seed and corn to the nation. Through their influence the Dakotas began to be led away from the rice grounds of the Mille Lac region. The editor of the *Dakota Friend* says: "The Dakotas first met with white men while on the war path far in the south. The war party was a large one, and the white men with whom they met were few. The Dakotas were penetrated with fear, and felt reverence for the white men similar to that which they feel for the gods. The white men were also agitated with fear. They extended the hand, trembling, to each other and freely exchanged presents. When a gun was exhibited, discharged, and presented to the Indians, they drew back in utter amazement. They separated in peace, and the Dakotas returned to astonish their families with the relation of what had happened.

"The first trading-post occupied by the French in the country of the Dakotas, of which I have heard them speak, was located at Lake Pepin, near the foot of the lake. They apply to the chief occupant of that post, the name of *Ti-ta-ni-ke*, (old inhabitant.)

"The next post seems to have been on the Mississippi, a little above the mouth of Rice creek. While the post on Lake Pepin was occupied, several Frenchmen were murdered, with a few Dakotas, by a war party of Chippewas. At that time also, a large war party of Ottawa Indians crossed Lake Pepin, from the west side on a rude raft. The place where they embarked was but a few rods distant from the present residence of James Wells.

"It is not easy to determine positively, where the *Mde-wa-kan-ton-wans* first planted corn, as some of their traditions assert, that it was on *Otonwewakpadan*, (Rice creek) and other that it was on the low banks of the Minnesota. It appears most probable, however, that the *Wa-kpa-a-ton-we-dan* party first planted at a point on the former stream, which they denominate *Tintatonwan*, (Prairieville) and that at about the same time, the *Ma-tan-ton-wans* tried the experiment on the latter. The seed was obtained from a trader who was located on the east shore of Lake Pepin, or one who occupied a post on the Mississippi a little above the mouth of Rice creek; probably the latter."

LE SUEUR.

After the treaty at Ryswick, the French officers, who had been engaged in the wars with the colonies of New England and New York, and the Iroquois Indians, began to turn their attention to discovery in new lands.

Lemoine d'Iberville, like Perrot, was a native of Canada. His life, also, had been a life of danger. At one time he is seen commanding a ship in Hudson Bay, in conflict with the English; at another we find him engaged in the burning of Schenectady at midnight. Repairing to France, in 1697, he applies for a commission to establish maritime intercourse between that country and the mouth of the Mississippi, and thus open a communication with the northern tribes of Indians, which could not be so easily cut off by the English colonies. On the 27th of September, 1698, according to La Harpe, he left Rochefort with two frigates, and two hundred men; and by the first of May, 1699, had reached the Bay of Biloxi. After establishing a post at this point, and placing it in command of his two brothers, Bienville and Sauvolle, he sailed for France.

In little more than six months he was again at the mouth of the Mississippi, with a vessel containing a great many passengers. Among the passengers was his father, Le Sueur, with thirty workmen, being the agent of M. L'Huillier, a distinguished public man of Paris, for forming an establishment towards the source of the Mississippi.

Le Sueur, though the least known of the adventurous Frenchmen, who explored the Upper Mississippi in the 17th century, is more worthy of remembrance by the Minnesotan. He was the first to discover the Minnesota river, ascended it for considerable distance, and may well be termed the pioneer explorer of the present Minnesota Territory, as Hennepin was a captive all the time of his visit in the vicinity of Rum river.

But little is known of his early history. Previous to his travels South and West, he was commissioned, in 1693, by Frontenac, the governor of Canada, to establish a post at Chegoimegon, (La Pointe) on Lake Superior, and to make an alliance with the Saulteurs or Chippewas, and the Scioux. After leaving Lake Superior, he appears to have visited the Mississippi river by the way of the Wisconsin. In the year 1695, he caused a fort to be erected on an island in the Mississippi, 200 leagues above the Illinois, probably Mud Hen Island. Charlevoix, who was at New Orleans in 1721, remarks: "Above the lake is met Isle Pelee, so named because it is a very beautiful prairie, destitute of trees. The French, of Canada, have made it a centre of commerce for the western parts, and many pass the winter here, because it is a good country for hunting. Three leagues or more above this island, the river St. Croix comes in on the right, which flows from the vicinity of Lake Superior." This post was built to keep up peaceful relations between the Chippewas, who, according to La Harpe, resided on the shores of a lake 500 leagues in circumference, and 100 leagues to the east, and the Scioux who resided on the Upper Mississippi.

The same year he went back to Montreal, with a Chippewa chief named Chingooouabe, and a Scioux called Tioscate, who was the first Dakota in that city. He was received very kindly by the governor and other officers. Two days after he came to Montreal, he presented Frontenac as many arrows as there were "Scioux" villages, and asked that these might be under his protection. Le Sueur had intended to have returned to the Dakota country in 1696, with Tioscate, but the chief, in the meantime died, after thirty-three days sickness. Le Sueur then went to France, and obtained permission, in 1697, to open some mines which he claimed to have found in the Dakota country.

In June of that year, he left Rochelle for the New World, but was captured by a British fleet and taken to England. Being released from captivity, he returned to France, and in 1698 obtained a new commission for mining.

Le Sueur published no account of his travels, but in the history of the establishment of the French in Louisiana, by La Harpe, there is an extract from the account of his last voyage to the Scioux or Dakota country.

The "History of Louisiana, by La Harpe," who was a French officer, remained in

manuscript in Louisiana, more than one hundred years. In 1805, a copy was taken from the original, and deposited among the archives of the American Philosophical Society, from which a few extracts were published by Professor Keating, in his narrative of Major Long's Expedition. In the year 1831, it was published at Paris, for the first time, in the French language. As it has never been translated, and is not easy of access, we transcribe all that relates to the "Scioux," and the mining operations of Le Sueur on the Blue Earth river. La Harpe says: "On the 10th of February, M. Le Sueur arrived (at the mouth of the Mississippi,) with 2,000 quintals of blue and green earth from the Scioux country. Here is an extract of the account of his voyage. It has been seen above, that he arrived at the colony in the month of December, 1699, with thirty workmen, but could not reach Tamarois before the following June, the journey being long from the mouth of the river to that place."

On the 12th of July, 1700, with one felucca and two canoes, and with nineteen men, he departed. On the 13th, having advanced six leagues and a quarter, he stopped at the mouth of the Missouri river, and six leagues above this, he passed the Illinois on the east side. He there met three Canadian voyageurs, who came to join his band, and received by them a letter from Father Marest, Jesuit, dated July 10th, 1700, at the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, in Illinois, of which the following is a copy:

"I have the honor to write, in order to inform you, that the Saugiestas have been defeated by the Scioux and Ayavois. (Iowas?) The people have formed an alliance with the Quincapous, (Kickapoos?) some of the Mécoutins, Renards, (Foxes,) and Metesigamias, and gone to revenge themselves, not on the Scioux, for they are too much afraid of them, but perhaps on the Ayavois, or very likely upon the Paoutees, or more probably upon the Osages, for these suspect nothing, and the others are on their guard.

"As you will probably meet these allied nations, you ought to take precaution against their plans, and not allow them to board your vessel, since they are traitors, and utterly faithless. I pray God to accompany you in all your designs."

Twenty-two leagues above the Illinois, he passed a small stream which he called the river of Oxen, and nine leagues beyond this he passed a small river on the west side, where he met four Canadians descending the Mississippi, on their way to the Illinois. On the 30th of July, nine leagues above the last named river, he met seventeen Scioux, in seven canoes, who were going to revenge the death of three Scioux, one of whom had been burned, and the others killed, at Tamarois, a few days before his arrival in that village. As he had promised the chief of the Illinois to appease the Scioux, who should go to war against his nation, he made a present to the chief of the party to engage him to turn back. He told them the king of France did not wish them to make this river more bloody, and that he was sent to tell them, that if they obeyed the king's word, they would receive in future all things necessary for them. The chief answered that he accepted the present, that is to say, that he would do as had been told him.

From the 30th of July to the 25th of August, Le Sueur advanced fifty-three and one-fourth leagues, to a small river, which he called the river of the Mine. At the mouth it runs from the north, but it turns to the northeast. On the right, seven leagues, there is a lead mine in a prairie, one and a half leagues back from the river. This river, with the exception of the three first leagues, is only navigable in high water, that is to say, from early spring till the month of June.

From the 25th to the 27th, he made ten leagues, passed two small rivers, and made himself acquainted with a mine of lead, from which he took a supply. From the 27th to the 30th, he made eleven and a half leagues, and met five Canadians, one of whom had been dangerously wounded in the head. They were naked, and had no ammunition, except a miserable gun, with five or six loads of powder and balls. They said they were descending from the Scioux to go to Tamarois, and when seventy leagues above, they perceived nine canoes in the Mississippi, in which was ninety savages, who robbed and cruelly beat them. This party were going to war against the Scioux, and were composed of four different nations, the Outagamis, (Foxes,) Saquis, (Sacs,)

Poutouwatomis, (Pottowattamies,) and Puans, (Winnebagoes,) who dwell in a country eighty leagues east of the Mississippi, from where Le Sueur then was.

The Canadians determined to follow the detachment, which was composed of twenty-eight men. This day they made seven and a half leagues. On the 1st of September, he passed up the Wisconsin river. It runs into the Mississippi from the northeast. It is nearly one and a half miles wide. At about seventy-five leagues up this river, on the right, ascending, there is a portage of more than a league. The half of this portage is shaking ground, and at the end of it is a small river, which descends into a bay called Winnebago bay. It is inhabited by a great number of nations, who carry their furs to Canada. Monsieur Le Sueur came by the Wisconsin river to the Mississippi, for the first time, in 1683, on his way to the Scioux country, where he had already passed seven years at different periods. The Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Wisconsin, is less than half a mile wide. From the 1st of September to the 5th, our voyageur advanced fourteen leagues. He passed the river "Aux Canots," which comes from the northeast, and then the Quincapous, named from a nation which once dwelt upon its banks.

From the 5th to the 9th, he made ten and a half leagues, and passed the rivers Cachee and Aux Ailes. The same day he perceived canoes, filled with savages, descending the river, and the five Canadians recognized them as the party who had robbed them. They placed sentinels in the wood, for fear of being surprised by land; and when they had approached within hearing, they cried to them that if they approached farther they would fire. They then drew up by an island at half the distance of a gun-shot. Soon, four of the principal men of the band approached in a canoe, and asked if it was forgotten that they were our brethren, and with what design we had taken arms, when we perceived them. Le Sueur replied that he had cause to distrust them, since they had robbed five of his party. Nevertheless, for the surety of his trade, being forced to be at peace with all the tribes, he demanded no redress for the robbery, but added merely that the king, their master and his, wished that his subjects should navigate that river without insult, and that they had better beware how they acted.

The Indian who had spoken was silent, but another said they had been attacked by the Scioux, and that if they did not have pity on them, and give a little powder, they should not be able to reach their village. The consideration of a missionary, who was to go up among the Scioux, and whom these savages might meet, induced them to give two pounds of powder.

M. Le Sueur made the same day three leagues; passed a stream on the west, and afterwards another river on the east, which is navigable at all times, and which the Indians call Red river.

On the 10th, at daybreak, they heard an elk whistle, on the other side of the river. A Canadian crossed in a small Scioux canoe, which they had found, and shortly returned with the body of the animal, which was very easily killed, *quand il est en rut*, that is from the beginning of September until the end of October. The hunters at this time make a whistle of a piece of wood, or reed, and when they hear an elk whistle, they answer it. The animal believing it to be another elk, approaches, and is killed with ease.

From the 10th to the 14th, M. Le Sueur made seventeen and a half leagues, passing the rivers Raisin and Paquilenettes, (perhaps the Wazi Ozu and Buffalo.) The same day he left on the east side of the Mississippi, a beautiful and large river, which descends from the very far north, and called Bon Secours, on account of the great quantity of buffalo, elk, bears and deer, which are found there. Three leagues up this river, there is a mine of lead, and seven leagues above, on the same side, they found another long river, in the vicinity of which there is a copper mine, from which he had taken a lump of sixty pounds, in a former voyage. In order to make these mines of any account, peace must be obtained between the Scioux and Outagamis (Foxes) because the latter who dwell on the east side of the Mississippi, pass this road continually when going to war against the Scioux.

In this region, at one and a half leagues on the north-west side, commenced a lake, which is six leagues long, and more than one broad, called Lake Pepin. It is bounded

on the west by a chain of mountains ; on the east is seen a prairie, and on the north-west of the lake there is another prairie two leagues long, and one wide. In the neighborhood is a chain of mountains quite two hundred feet high, and more than one and a half miles long. In these are found several caves, to which the bears retire in winter. Most of the caverns are more than seventy feet in extent, and three or four feet high. There are several of which the entrance is very narrow, and quite closed up with saltpetre. It would be dangerous to enter them in summer, for they are filled with rattlesnakes, the bite of which is very dangerous. Le Sueur saw some of these snakes, which were six feet in length, but generally they are about four feet. They have teeth resembling those of the pike, and their gums are full of small vessels in which their poison is placed. The Scioux say they take it every morning, and cast it away at night. They have at the tail, a kind of scale which makes a noise, and this is called the rattle.

Le Sueur made on this day, seven and a half leagues, and passed another river called Hambouxcate' Ouataba, or the river of Flat Rocks. (This is evidently the Inyan-bosndata, or Cannon River.)

On the 15th, he crossed a small river, and saw in the neighborhood, several canoes filled with Indians, descending the Mississippi. He supposed they were Scioux, because he could not distinguish whether their canoes were large or small. The arms were placed in readiness, and soon they heard the cry of the savages, which they are accustomed to raise when they rush upon their enemies. He caused them to be answered in the same manner ; and after having placed all the men behind the trees, he ordered them not to fire until they were commanded. He remained on shore to see what movement the savages could make, and perceiving that they placed two on shore, on the other side, where from an eminence they could ascertain the strength of his forces, he caused his men to pass and re-pass from the shore to the wood, in order to make them believe that they were numerous. This ruse succeeded, for as soon as the two descended from the eminence, the chief of the party came, bearing the calumet, which is a signal of peace among the Indians.

They said, that never having seen the French navigate the river with boats like the felucca,* they had supposed them to be English, and for that reason they had raised the war cry, and arranged themselves on the other side of the Mississippi ; but having recognized their flag, they had come without fear to inform them, that one of their number, who was crazy, had accidentally killed a Frenchman, and that they would go and bring his comrade, who would tell how the mischief had happened.

The Frenchman they brought, was Denis, a Canadian, and he reported that his companion was accidentally killed. His name was Laplace, a deserting soldier from Canada, who had taken refuge in this country.

Le Sueur replied that Onontio, (the name they give to all the governors of Canada) being their father and his, they ought not to seek justification elsewhere than before him ; and he advised them to go and see him as soon as possible, and beg him to wipe off the blood of this Frenchman from their faces.

The party was composed of forty-seven men of different nations, who dwell far to the east, about the forty-fourth degree of latitude. Le Sueur, discovering who the chiefs were, said the king whom they had spoken of in Canada, had sent him to take possession of the north of the river ; and that he wished the nations who dwell on it, as well as those under his protection, to live in peace.

He made this day three and three-fourth leagues ; and on the 16th of September, he left a large river on the east side, named Saint Croix, because a Frenchman of that name was shipwrecked at its mouth. It comes from the N. N. W. Four leagues higher, in going up, is found a small lake, at the mouth of which is a very large mass of copper. It is on the edge of the water, in a small ridge of sandy earth, on the west of this lake. (Perhaps near Gray Cloud Island ?)

From the 16th to the 19th, he advanced thirteen and three-fourth leagues. After having made from Tamarois two hundred and nine and a half leagues, he left the navi-

* The felucca is a small vessel propelled both by oars and sails, and had never before been seen on the waters of the Upper Mississippi.

gation of the Mississippi, to enter the river Saint Pierre* on the west side. By the first of October, he had made in this river, forty-four and one fourth leagues. After he entered into Blue river, thus named on account of the mines of blue earth found at its mouth, he founded his post, situated in forty-four degrees, thirteen minutes, north latitude. He met at this place, nine Scioux† who told him that the river belonged to the Scioux of the west, the Ayavois, (Iowas,) and Otoctatas, (Ottoes,) who lived a little farther off; that it was not their custom to hunt on ground belonging to others, unless invited to do so by the owners, and that when they would come to the fort to obtain provisions, they would be in danger of being killed in ascending or descending the rivers, which were narrow, and that if they would show their pity, he must establish himself on the Mississippi, where the Ayavois, the Otoctatas, and the other Scioux, could go as well as them.

Having finished their speech, they leaned over the head of Le Sueur, according to their custom, crying out "Oueachissou ouacapanimanabo," that is to say, "Have pity on us." Le Sueur had foreseen that the establishment on Blue river, would not please the Scioux of the east, who were, so to speak, masters of the other Scioux, and of the nations which will be hereafter mentioned, because they were the first with whom trade was commenced, and in consequence of which they had already quite a number of guns.

As he had not commenced his operations only with a view to the trade of beavers, but also to gain a knowledge of the mines, which he had previously discovered, he told them he was sorry that he had not known their intentions sooner; and that it was just, since he came expressly for them, that he should establish himself on their land, but that the season was too far advanced for him to return. He then made them a present of powder, balls, and knives, and an armful of tobacco, to entice them to assemble as soon as possible, near the fort which he was about to construct, that when they should be all assembled he might tell them the intention of the king, their and his sovereign.

The Scioux of the west, according to the statement of the eastern Scioux, have more than a thousand lodges. They do not use canoes, nor cultivate the earth, nor gather wild rice. They remain generally in the prairies, which are between the Upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and live entirely by the chase. The Scioux generally say they have three souls, and that after death, that which has done well goes to the warm country, that which has done evil, to the cold regions, and the other guards the body. Polygamy is common among them. They are very jealous, and sometimes fight in duel for their wives. They manage the bow admirably, and have been seen several times to kill ducks on the wing. They make their lodges of a number of buffalo skins interlaced and sewed, and carry them wherever they go. They are all great smokers, but their manner of smoking differs from that of other Indians. There are some Scioux who swallow all the smoke of the tobacco, and others who, after having kept it sometime in their breath, cause it to issue from the nose. In each lodge there are usually two or three men with their families.

On the 3d of October, they received at the fort, several Scioux, among whom was Wahkantape, chief of the village. Soon, two Canadians arrived who had been hunting, and who had been robbed by the Scioux of the east, who had raised their guns to avenge the establishment which M. Le Sueur had made on Blue river.

On the 17th, the fort was finished and named Fort L'Huillier, and on the 26th, two Canadians were sent out to invite the Ayavois and Otoctatas to come and establish a village near the fort, because these Indians are industrious and accustomed to cultivate the earth, and they hoped to get provisions from them and to make them work in the mines.

On the 24th, six Scioux Oujalespoitons wished to go into the fort, but were told

* The Saint Pierre, like the Saint Croix, just below it, was evidently named after a Frenchman. Charlevoix speaks of an officer by that name, who was at Mackinac in 1692, and prominent in the Indian affairs of that age. Carver, in 1766, on the shores of Lake Pepin, discovered the ruins of an extensive trading post, that had been under the control of a Captain Saint Pierre, and there is scarcely a doubt that Le Sueur named the Minnesota river, in honor of his fellow explorer and trader.

† SCILOUX, is the orthography of Lahontan, Le Sueur, and the Jesuits of that period, in their relations.

that they did not receive men who had killed Frenchmen. This is the term used when they have insulted them. The next day they came to the lodge of Le Sueur to beg him to have pity on them. They wished, according to custom, to weep over his head and make him a present of packs of beavers, which he refused. He told them he was surprised that people who had robbed, should come to him; to which they replied that they had heard it said that two Frenchmen had been robbed, but none from their village had been present at that wicked action.

Le Sueur answered, that he knew it was the Mendeoucantons and not the Oujalespoitons; "but," continued he, "you are Scioux; it is the Scioux who have robbed me, and if I was to follow your manner of acting, I should break your heads; for is it not true, that when a stranger (it is thus that they call the Indians who are not Scioux) has insulted a Scioux, Mendeoucanton, Oujalespoitons or others—all the villages—revenge upon the first one they meet?"

As they had nothing to answer to what he said to them, they wept, and repeated, according to custom, "Ouaechissou! ouaepanimanabo!" Le Sueur told them to cease crying, and added that the French had good hearts, and that they had come into the country to have pity on them. At the same time, he made them a present, saying to them, "Carry back your beavers and say to all the Scioux, that they will have from me no more powder or lead, and they will no longer smoke any long pipe until they have made satisfaction for robbing the Frenchmen."

The same day the Canadians, who had been sent off on the 22d, arrived without having found the road which led to the Ayavois and Otoctatas. On the 25th, Le Sueur went to the river with three canoes, which he filled with green and blue earth.* It is taken from the hills near which are very abundant mines of copper, some of which was worked at Paris in 1696 by L'Huillier, one of the chief collectors of the king. Stones were also found there which would be curious, if worked.

On the 9th of November, eight Mantanton Scioux arrived, who had been sent by their chiefs to say that the *Mendeoucantons were still at their lake on the east of the Mississippi*, and that they could not come for a long time; and that for a single village which had no good sense, the others ought not to bear the punishment; and that they were willing to make reparation if they knew how. Le Sueur replied that he was glad they had a disposition to do so.

On the 15th, the two Mantanton Scioux, who had been sent expressly to say that all of the Scioux of the east and part of those of the west were joined together to come to the French, because they had heard that the Christianaux and the Assinipoils were making war on them. These two nations dwell above the fort on the east side, more than eighty leagues on the Upper Mississippi.

The Assinipoils speak Scioux, and are certainly of that nation. It is only a few years since they became enemies. The enmity thus originated: The Christianaux having the use of arms before the Scioux, through the English at Hudson's Bay, they constantly warred with the Assinipoils who were their nearest neighbors. The latter being weak, sued for peace; and to render it more lasting, married the Christianaux women. The other Scioux, who had not made the compact, continued to war; and seeing some Christianaux with the Assinipoils, broke their heads. The Christianaux furnished the Assinipoils with arms and merchandize.

On the 16th, the Scioux returned to their village, and it was reported that the Ayavois and Otoctatas were gone to establish themselves towards the Missouri river, near the Maha, who dwell in that region. On the 26th, the Mantantons and Oujalespoitons arrived at the fort; and after they had encamped in the woods, Wahkantape came to beg Le Sueur to go to his lodge. He there found sixteen men with women and children, with their faces daubed with black. In the middle of the lodge were several buffalo skins, which were sewed for a carpet. After motioning him to sit down, they wept for the fourth of an hour, and the chief gave him some wild rice to eat, (as was their custom) putting the first three spoonful to his mouth. After which, he said that all present were relatives of Tioscate, whom Le Sueur took to Canada in 1695, and who died there in 1696.

* The locality was a branch of the Blue Earth, about a mile above the fort, called by Nicollet, Le Sueur river, and on a map published in 1773, the river St. Remi.

At the mention of Tioscate they began to weep again, and wipe their tears and heads upon the shoulders of Le Sueur. Then Wahnkaptape again spoke, and said that Tioscate begged him to forget the insult done to the Frenchmen by the Mendeouacantons, and take pity on his brethren by giving them powder and balls whereby they could defend themselves, and gain a living for their wives and children, who languish in a country, full of game, because they had not the means of killing them. "Look," added the chief, "Behold thy children, thy brethren, and thy sisters, it is to thee to see whether thou wishest them to die. They will live if thou givest them powder and ball; they will die if thou refusest."

Le Sueur granted them their request, but as the Sciouxs never answer on the spot, especially in matters of importance, and as he had to speak to them about his establishment, he went out of the lodge without saying a word. The chief and all those within followed him as far as the door of the fort; and when he had gone in, they went around it three times, crying with all their strength "Atheouanan!" that is to say, "Father have pity on us."

The next day he assembled in the fort, the principal men of both villages; and as it is not possible to subdue the Sciouxs or to hinder them from going to war, unless it be by inducing them to cultivate the earth, he said to them that if they wished to render themselves worthy of the protection of the king, they must abandon their erring life, and form a village near his dwelling, where they would be shielded from the insults of their enemies; and that they might be happy and not hungry, he would give them all the corn necessary to plant a large piece of ground; that the king, their and his chief, in sending him, had forbidden him to purchase beaver skins, knowing that this kind of hunting separates them and exposes them to their enemies; and that in consequence of this he had come to establish himself on Blue river and vicinity, where they had many times assured him were many kinds of beasts, for the skins of which he would give them all things necessary; that they ought to reflect that they could not do without French goods, and that the only way not to want them was, not to go to war with our allied nations.

As it is customary with the Indians to accompany their word with a present proportioned to the affair treated of, he gave them fifty pounds of powder, as many balls, six guns, ten axes, twelve armsful of tobacco and a hatchet pipe.

On the 1st of December, the Mantantons invited Le Sueur to a great feast. Of four of their lodges they had made one, in which was one hundred men seated around, and every one his dish before him. After the meal, Wahnkaptape, the chief, made them all smoke one after another in the hatchet pipe which had been given them. He then made a present to Le Sueur of a slave and a sack of wild rice, and said to him, showing him his men: "Behold the remains of this great village, which thou hast aforetimes seen so numerous! all the others have been killed in war; and the few men whom thou seest in this lodge, accept the present thou hast made them, and are resolved to obey the great chief of all nations, of whom thou hast spoken to us. Thou oughtest not to regard us Sciouxs, but as French, and instead of saying the Sciouxs are miserable, and have no mind, and are fit for nothing but to rob and steal from the French, thou shalt say my brethren are miserable and have no mind, and we must try to procure some for them. They rob us, but I will take care that they do not lack iron, that is to say all kinds of goods. If thou dost this, I assure thee that in a little time, the Mantantons will become Frenchmen, and they will have none of those vices, with which thou reproachest us."

Having finished this speech, he covered his face with his garment, and the others imitated him. They wept over their companions who had died in war, and chanted an adieu to their country in a tone so gloomy that one could not keep from partaking of their sorrow.

Wahnkaptape then made them smoke again, and distributed the presents, and said that he was going to the Mendeouacantons to inform them of the resolution, and invite them to do the same.

On the 12th, three Mendeouacanton chiefs and a large number of Indians of the same village, arrived at the fort, and the next day gave satisfaction for robbing the Frenchmen. They brought 400 pounds of beaver skins, and promised that the sum-

mer following, after their canoes were built and they had gathered their wild rice, that they would come and establish themselves near the French. The same day they returned to their village east of the Mississippi.

Names of the bands of Scioux of the East, with their signification.

MANTANTONS—That is to say, Village of the Great Lake which empties into a small one.

MENDEUCANTONS—Village of Spirit Lake.

QUIOPETONS—Village of the Lake with one River.

PSIOUMANITONS—Village of Wild Rice Gatherers.

OUADEBATONS—The River Village.

OUATEMANETONS—Village of the Tribe who dwell on the point of the Lake.

SONGASQUITONS—The Brave Village.

The Scioux of the West.

TOUCHOUASINTONS—The Village of the Pole.

PSINCHATONS—Village of the Red Wild Rice.

OUJALESPOITONS—Village divided into many small Bands.

PSINOUTANHHINTONS—The Great Wild Rice Village.

TINTANGAUGHATONS—The Grand Lodge Village.

OUAPETONS—Village of the Leaf.

OUGHETGEODATONS—Dung Village.

OUAPETONTETONS—Village of those who Shoot in the Large Pine.

HINHANETONS—Village of the Red Stone Quarry.

The above catalogue of villages concludes the extract that La Harpe has made from Le Sueur's journal.

In the narrative of Major Long's second expedition, there are just the same number of villages of the Gens du Lac or Mdewakanton Scioux mentioned, though the names are different. After leaving the Mille Lac region, the divisions evidently were different, and the villages known by new names.

Charlevoix, in his large and valuable work, prepared by order of the French Government, speaking of the Scioux, remarks: "Our geographies divide that nation into the Wandering Scioux and Scioux of the Prairies—into Scioux of the East and Scioux of the West. Such a division to me seems not to be well founded. All the Scioux live in the same manner, and it happens that such camp which was last year on the east bank of the Mississippi will be next year on the west; and those that we have for a time seen on the river Saint Pierre, are perhaps now a great way off on a prairie. The name of Scioux that we give to those Indians is entirely of our making, or rather it is but the last two syllables of the name of Nadouessioux, as many nations call them. It is the most numerous nation as yet known in Canada. They were peaceable, and not disposed to war, until the Hurons and Iroquois came to their country. They tried to laugh at their simplicity and trained them up to war, at their expense. The Scioux have many women, and they punish conjugal infidelity with severity. They cut off the tip of their noses, and a piece of the skin of the head, and draw it over. I have seen some who thought that those Indians had a Chinese accent. It would be very easy to discover if their language had any affinity with that of the people of China."

In Le Sueur's enumeration of the Scioux of the West, the present Warpetwans or People of the Leaf, Titonwan or People of the Lodges, Sisit'wans, and Ihanktonwan are easily distinguished, and the latter at that period appear to have lived near the red pipestone quarry. The Ouadebatons are marked on Hennepin's map as residing northeast of Mille Lac, and are called also the People of the River. The Ouatemantons probably resided upon Cormorant Point, which juts into Mille Lac. Of the Mantantons, Governor Ramsey, in his valuable and interesting report, remarks: "Another portion known as the Mantatonwan, meaning village or community on the Matah; but where the Matah was, and whether lake or river, is at present unknown." Le Sueur

shows that they lived on a large lake which was joined to a small one. Hennepin calls Mille Lac, Changasketon lake, and far north of this he marks the residence of the Chongaskabions or the Brave Band; and they no doubt are the same as the Songasquions of Le Sueur.

Though Le Sueur, through misinformation, or want of observation, often errs, there appears to be no intention to deceive; and in reading his narrative, you are impressed with its general truthfulness. He alone of the explorers of Minnesota, can be relied upon. He had men and an outfit that enabled him to make observations with some degree of accuracy; and it is to be hoped that some town named Le Sueur, will at no distant day spring up on the banks of the Minnesota river, and thus perpetuate his name. Not only was he the most accurate, but also the last French explorer of the country. Charlevoix, who visited the valley of the Lower Mississippi, in 1722, says that Le Sueur spent a winter in his fort on the banks of the Blue Earth; and that in the following April, he went up to the mine about a mile above. In twenty-two days they obtained more than thirty thousand pounds of the substance, four thousand of which were selected and sent to France. In April, 1702, he went back to France, having left men at the post, but on the third of March, 1703, these came back to Mobile, having abandoned Fort L'Huillier on account of ill-treatment from the Indians, and for the want of pecuniary means. The enterprising Le Sueur did not remain on the other side of the Atlantic; and several years after his explorations on the Blue Earth, he is found busy in leading expeditions against the Natchez and other Indians of the Southwest. It is said that he died on the road while passing through the colony of Louisiana.

Among the company of Le Sueur, was Penicaut, a ship carpenter, of strong mind, who distinguished himself in his intercourse with the tribes of the Southwest.

We cannot conclude this portion of the article, upon the early French traders in Minnesota, without noticing De Charleville. He was a relative of Bienville, the commander-general of Louisiana, and thus connected with Le Sueur. At the time of the settlement of the French on the banks of the Mississippi, curiosity led him to ascend this river far beyond the point reached by Hennepin. He told Du Pratz, the author of a history of Louisiana, that with two Canadians and two Indians, in a birch canoe laden with goods, he proceeded as far as the Falls of St. Anthony. This cataract is described as caused by a flat rock, which crosses the river, and makes a fall of eight or ten feet. After making a portage, he continued his journey for leagues farther, and met the Scioux, whom, it was asserted, lived on both sides of the river. The Scioux informed him that it was a great distance to the sources.

In 1710, the king granted to M. Crozat the exclusive privilege of trading in Louisiana for sixteen years. Charleville was then employed by Crozat, as a trader among the Shawnees, in the present state of Tennessee. His store was situated upon a mound near the present site of Nashville, on the west side of the Cumberland river.

At a very early date, a plan was conceived for drawing away the fur trade from Hudson's Bay. An alliance was contemplated with the Assiniboin and some distant Scioux, who, instead of carrying their peltries on their backs, through snow-drifts to the English, were to be induced to descend the Mississippi in their canoes, towards the St. Pierre or Minnesota, where the climate was more temperate. Before 1720, the trading posts of the French, at the Blue Earth, Isle Pelee, (Mud Hen Island?) and Lake Pepin, were all abandoned, on account of the hostility of the Indians.

Owing to the united hostility of the Foxes and Dakotas against the French, the route by way of Fox river and Wisconsin, was discontinued for many years. The voyageurs, in the meantime, entering the Mississippi from the lakes, either by way of the Wabash or the Illinois river. The Foxes being at last driven from the Fox river and subdued, travel from Mackinaw, by way of Green Bay, to the city of New Orleans, was resumed.

In the year 1755, a French fort, for the first time, was established at Prairie du Chien, and drew around it a number of voyageurs and coureurs des bois, whose descendants are still found in that vicinity.

Carver thus describes the town in 1766: "It contains about three hundred families; the houses are well built after the Indian manner, and pleasantly situated on a very rich

soil, from which they raise every necessary of life, in great abundance. I saw here many horses of a good size and shape. This town is the great mart, where all the adjacent tribes, and even those who inhabit the most remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assemble about the latter end of May, bringing with them their furs to dispose of to the traders."

After the cession of Canada to the English, in 1763, the French held control over the Indian tribes of Minnesota. Englishmen, for some years, risked their lives in attempting to pass through the country. After Sir Wm. Johnson became royal superintendent of Indian affairs, there was some discussion in relation to the re-building of the old French forts on Green Bay and Fox river; but it was at last determined that it was useless for the British government, as long as there was so much prejudice against it, to try to secure the trade of the Mississippi, which, previous to 1770, was monopolized by traders chiefly from Louisiana, or by Canadians, who refused allegiance to Great Britain.

ENGLISH TRADERS.

In the year 1774, some enterprising men in Montreal, who had a practical knowledge of the Indian trade, formed a company, styled the Northwest Company of Montreal. The shares of the company were few, a portion of which was owned by those who furnished the capital, and the rest by the traders themselves, each of whom took charge of an interior post. The old Canadian voyageurs were employed by this company in preference to all others; and in all probability the father of the late Joseph Renville, Sen'r, whose wife was a native of Kaposia village, was an attache to this company, as his son was subsequently to its rival, the "Hudson Bay." Sandy Lake, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, became quite a centre of Indian trade. In the year 1785, a scene occurred there, which has not been of infrequent occurrence. For the facts, we are indebted to Mr. Schoolcraft's Narrative, which he obtained from a manuscript of a voyageur named Perrault.

A trader by the name of Kay, was asked by an Ojibwa to give him some rum. Kay refused, and walked him out of the tent. On turning round to enter, the Indian stabbed him in the back of the neck. Kay at the time was intoxicated, and seizing a long table-knife, ran after the Indian. The Indians being also drunk, a general melee took place. The mother of the Indian who had stabbed the trader, ran up and stabbed Kay a second time. A friendly Indian now took up the quarrel of the trader, and plunged a knife into the breast of him who instigated the Indian in the first place to attack the trader. The Indian women, in self-defence, now destroyed all the liquor that could be found. Kay's wound was so bad that he determined to go to Mackinac. "Before he started," says Perrault, "he sent for M. Harris and myself to come to his tent, to receive his orders. He said to us: 'Gentlemen, you see my situation. I do not know whether God will spare my life or not. I have determined to leave you, and at all hazards to set out for Mackinac with seven men, accompanied by the Bras Casse and his wife, to take care of me on the road. Assort the remainder of the goods, and ascend to Leech lake, and await there for the return of the Pillagers, who are out on the prairies. In short, complete the inland trade. Mr. Pinot is too feeble an opponent to do you much injury. I confide in the capacity of you both.' A few moments afterwards Mr. Harris went out, when he said to me particularly, taking hold of my hands—'My dear friend, you understand the language of the Chippewas. Mr. Harris would go with me, but he must accompany you. He is a good trader, but he has, like myself and others, a strong passion for drinking, which takes away his judgment. On these occasions, advise him. I will myself speak to him before my departure. Prepare every thing to facilitate our passage over the portages and along the lake. I shall set out to-morrow. I find myself better every day.'

"I left him with his physician, and went to distribute the provisions and lading for two inland canoes, one for Mr. Kay, and one for the four men who were to take the furs from Pine river, consisting of nineteen packs of eighty pounds each, and four packs of deer skins, to serve as seats for Mr. Kay's men. The next day Mr. Kay was a little better, which diffused pleasure among us all. I constructed a litter (*un troncard*)

for two men to carry him over the portages; and he set out the same day, being the fifth of May, about two o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Pinot also departed the same day. Bras Casse and his wife departed about sunset."

The sequel of this tale is briefly told. Mr. Kay reached Mackinac, where Capt. Robinson, then in command, had a second operation performed on him by the post-surgeon. He afterwards closed his business and went to Montreal. A suppuration of his wound, however, took place at the Lake of Two Mountains, which terminated his life on the 26th of August, 1785, three months and twenty-four days after receiving the wound.

In 1796, the Northwest Company built a fort at Sandy Lake. In 1805, the fur trade of Minnesota was entirely monopolized by this English company. At Leech lake and other points in the Ojibwa country, they had posts.

The principal traders among the Dakotas, at this time, were Cameron, Dickson, Campbell, Aird, and Crawford. The latter lived much of the time on the Des Moines river. Aird, or Aird, was a partner of a firm at Prairie du Chien. He was a Scotchman, from Mackinac, and was met by the returning expedition of Lewis and Clarke, with two canoes, near the junction of the Au Jacques with the Missouri river. In 1812, he had a post at Mendota. Campbell and Dickson traded at Kaposia and sundry places on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers.

Cameron had his post towards the sources of the Minnesota. He also was a shrewd and daring Scotchman. He died in the year 1811, and the spot where he was buried, on the Upper Minnesota, is known to this day as Cameron's grave. One of his voyageurs, Old Milor is still living at Mendota; and while in the employ of Cameron nearly lost his life. We tell the story as Featherstonhaugh relates it: "The winter was advancing fast upon Milor and his fellow voyageurs, and they had delayed so long collecting their packs of skins, that the ice formed one night too strong to permit their descending the stream in a canoe. There was, however, some hopes of a thaw; and they kept waiting from day to day, until their provision, of which they had but a slight supply, was exhausted. They had nothing left, now, but to leave their packs of skins under the canoe, and take to the woods in the hope that Cameron, who was at a distant trading-post below, seeing the state of the weather, would send relief to them.

"The snow was too deep to enable them to carry any burden; and with their last meal in their pockets, they commenced their journey. They met with no game of any kind, on the way; and on the night of the second day, they were reduced to the necessity of stripping some bark from a tree to masticate. In the morning, the severity of the weather increased, and no alternative presented itself, but stopping to die on the way, or making the most desperate effort to extricate themselves. On the morning of the third day, two of the men became weak, and frequently urged the other to stop; but Milor always opposed these delays. These poor fellows were gradually losing their judgment; they knew that delay would be fatal to the whole party, yet the sense of present distress took away all reflection from them. Milor, who was ahead of them all, came before night to a place somewhat sheltered from the wind, which was very piercing; and seeing some signs of the bushes having been disturbed, he stepped aside to look, and found a dead Indian beside the remains of a small fire. Milor now shouted to the men to come on; and pointing to the Indian, told them that would be their fate before morning, if they stopped. Frightened at this, they kept up a good pace until a late hour; and Milor being in a part of the country he was acquainted with, took one of the most active of the men with him, and after great exertions, they had the good luck to catch two muskrats. With these they returned to the man, who had built up a good fire; and having eaten one of the animals, they lay down to sleep, and rested very well. In the morning, they ate the other before starting; and as they felt a little more cheerful, Milor told them that if they would walk like men, he would take them to a place where there was plenty of muskrats, and that as soon as they had laid in a supply of them, they would strike across the country to Traverse des Sioux, where they would be sure to hear of Cameron and get food. In several days they caught but one muskrat.

"On the morning of the eighth day, they had not been marching an hour, when

Milor, looking attentively to the southeast, declared that he saw smoke in that direction, and that there must be a fire. This, as Milor said, had the effect of a glass of *eau de vie* upon them, and they went briskly on for two or three hours; but this cheering sign disappeared, and the men were beginning to despond again, when the thought struck Milor, that if any party was coming to their relief, they would naturally be keeping a lookout also. In less than a half hour after, he had gained the bluff to scan a thick column of smoke, not more than three miles distant. He immediately waved his cap, shouted to his companions, and set off in the direction of the expected aid. It was indeed the relief they expected. Two men, each with a pack containing pork and biscuit, had been despatched from Traverse des Sioux, and Cameron with three others, were to leave in a canoe, if an expected thaw admitted of it, and at any rate, were to start with an additional supply. Milor, having reposed himself, set out to meet his comrades with the reinforcement. 'What did they do, when they saw you?' I asked Milor. 'Ces gaillards la ont commences a danser, Monsieur—the happy fellows began to dance,' was his answer.

"This incident, in the adventures of Milor, is very much to the credit of Cameron, who made so resolute an attempt to relieve his poor *engages*, when the chances were so much against his succeeding." Featherstonhaugh, vol. 1, pp. 315—318.

Not long after Cameron's death, the second war of Britain with the United States occurred. His fellow-trader, Dickson, being a man of great influence with the Indians of the Northwest, he received from the English the rank and pay of colonel, and led the Chippewas, Winnebagoes, Dakotas and others, to the army of General Proctor, which besieged Fort Meigs. This circumstance always rendered him an object of suspicion to Americans. In 1817, he was residing at Lake Traverse, and the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, suspected that he was alienating the Dakotas from the United States, and in company with Lord Selkirk, striving to secure their trade, as the following extract from his letter of Feb. 16, 1818, to the governor of Illinois, will show:

"What do you suppose, sir, has been the result of the passage through my agency, of this British nobleman? (Lord Selkirk.) Two entire bands, and part of a third, all Sioux, have deserted us and joined Dickson, who has distributed to them large quantities of Indian presents, together with flags, medals, etc. Knowing this, what must have been my feelings on hearing that his lordship had met with a favorable reception at St. Louis. The newspapers announcing *his arrival and general Scottish* appearance, all tend to discompose me; believing as I do, that he is plotting with his friend Dickson, our destruction—sharpening the savage scalping knife, and colonizing a tract of country, so remote as that of the Red river, for the purpose, no doubt, of monopolizing the fur and peltry trade of this river, the Missouri and their waters—a trade of the first importance to our western states and territories. A courier, who had arrived a few days since, confirms the belief that Dickson is endeavoring to undo what I have done, and secure to the British government the affections of the Sioux, and subject the Northwest Company to his lordship. * * * * * Dickson, as I have before observed, is situated near the head of the St. Peter's, to which place he transports his goods from Selkirk's Red river establishment, in carts made for the purpose. The trip is performed in five days, sometimes less. He is directed to build a fort on the highest land between Lac du Travers, and Red river, which he supposes will be the established line between the two countries. This fort will be defended by twenty men, with two small pieces of artillery."

It is said that after this, Dickson was arrested between the St. Peter's, or Minnesota, and St. Croix, and carried to St. Louis.

AMERICAN TRADE.

In entering upon the consideration of the American trade, it is not out of place to notice the first political transaction of the United States, with the Dakotas. The following communication from President Jefferson was read in the United States Senate on March 29, 1808 :

"Lieutenant Pike, on his journey up the Mississippi, in 1805-6, being at the village of the Sioux, between the rivers St. Croix and St. Peter's, conceived that the position was favorable for a military and commercial post for the United States, whenever it should be thought expedient to advance in that quarter. He therefore proposed to the chief's a cession of lands for that purpose. Their desire of entering into connection with the United States, and of getting a trading-house established there, induced a ready consent to the proposition ; and they made by articles of agreement, now enclosed, a voluntary donation to the United States of two portions of land—the one of nine miles square, at the mouth of the St. Croix ; the other from below the mouth of the St. Peter's, up the Mississippi to St. Anthony's Falls, extending nine miles in width on each side of the Mississippi."

On April 30th, 1808, Mr. Mitchell, from the committee of the Senate to whom was referred the message of the President, made the following report :

"The amount of land ceded by the Sioux is a tract of nine miles square, at the mouth of the river St. Croix, amounting to 51,840 acres, and another tract at the falls of St. Anthony, containing by estimation, (18 miles by 9) 103,680 acres ; amounting in the whole to 155,520 acres. This people had been induced to cede these tracts of land in consideration of about two hundred dollars' worth of goods and merchandise, and of the benefit they would derive from the establishment of a trading-house, and of protection from a military station in their country. There is a blank in the second article, which the committee learn from Capt. Pike was intended to be filled up with some valuable consideration, to vest the title fully and fairly in the United States. As the sum to be given by the United States is wholly optional and gratuitous, it is believed by the agent that two thousand dollars would be considered by the Sioux a very generous compensation. This amounts to not much more than one cent and twenty-eight mills to the acre. The committee, after considering the agreement of the agent with the Sioux chiefs, and such information as they have been able to procure from Capt. Pike thereon, report to the Senate the following amendment :

"After the word 'States' in the second line of the second article, insert the following words : 'shall prior to taking possession thereof, pay to the Sioux, two thousand dollars, or deliver the value thereof in such goods and merchandise as they shall choose.' [The Senate committee might have stated, that in addition to the two hundred dollars' worth of goods, Pike ordered the traders there assembled to furnish the Indians with sixty gallons of liquor.]

"These portions of land are designated on the map now enclosed. Lieutenant Pike on his part, made presents to the Indians to some amount.

"This convention, though dated the 23d of September, 1805, is but lately received ; and although we have no immediate view of establishing a trading post at that place, I submit it to the Senate for the sanction of their advice and consent to its ratification, in order to give to our title a full validity on the part of the United States, whenever it may be wanting for the special purpose which constituted, in the minds of the donors, the sole consideration and inducement to the cession."

The following is the treaty alluded to :

"At a conference held between the United States of America and the Sioux nation of Indians: Lieut. Z. M. Pike, of the army of the United States, and the chiefs and the warriors of said tribe, which, when ratified and approved of by the proper authority, shall be binding on both parties.

"ART. 1. That the Sioux nation grant unto the United States, for the purpose of establishment of military posts, nine miles square at the mouth of the St. Croix, also from below the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peter's, up the Mississippi to include the falls of St. Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river, that the

Sioux nation grants to the United States the full sovereignty and power over said district forever.

"ART. 2. That in consideration of the above grants, the United States shall pay

"ART. 3. The United States promise, on their part, to permit the Sioux to pass and re-pass, hunt, or make other use of the said districts as they have formerly done, without any other exception than those specified in article first.

"In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned, have hereunto set our hands and seals, at the mouth of the St. Peter's, on the 23d day of September, 1805.

"Z. M. PIKE, 1st Lieut. and agent at the above

"LE PETIT X CORBEAU, [conference.

"WAY AGO X ENAGEE."

After the treaty of 1815, at Portage des Sioux, with the lower bands of the Sioux, a U. S. trading post was established at Prairie du Chien. The United States hoped to be able to sell goods at such low prices, that they could obtain the furs and the confidence of the Indians, and thus exclude British traders. The factories or trading posts were, however, often distant from Indian villages. They moreover, did not sell on credit, as private traders are wont to do, and thus they did not secure either the peltries or friendship of the tribes.

The British traders on the Mississippi, always had the advantage of the U. S. factories. Accustomed to Indian life, inured to fatigue, intermarried with the Indians, they followed the hunting parties as far as they could in their canoes. They then stopped and threw up rude huts, and sent their *engages* with goods packed on their shoulders, to obtain the furs of those Indians that had not already bought on credit. But not only was the U. S. trading-house at Prairie du Chien, unable to compete with the British traders in Minnesota, but virtually became an instrument in their hands. The British traders, returning to Prairie du Chien with peltries from the Upper Mississippi and Minnesota, would employ Indians to purchase goods at United States prices, and thus obtain a new outfit at less cost than if they had transported from Montreal.

From the year 1815, Gov. Edwards and others saw the defects of the American system; but it was long before Congress could be induced to make a change. The factory at Prairie du Chien traded, not only with the Dakotas, but with Sauks and Foxes, Chippewas, Winnebagoes, and Menominees. From the following table can be seen the kind and quantity of furs received there during the first four years of its operation.

Statement showing the kind and quantity of peltries, etc., received at the U. S. Trading Post, at Prairie du Chien:

Furs, Peltries, etc.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.
Deer skins,	4451	2441	4115	3251
Bear "	123	293	135	30
Beaver "	496	694	786	303
Otter "	54	480	517	188
Raccoon "	261	2685	1996	371
Muskrat "	2445	14,015	16,712	9748
Fox "		7	144	
Fisher "		97	216	62
Mink "		240		
Wild cat,		92		48
Martin,				9
Lead,			199,894 lbs.	67,799 lbs.
Feathers,			834 lbs.	734 lbs.
Cash sales,	\$424 40	\$3,199 32	\$3,266 77	\$427 87
Fur sales,	4,486 39	10,364 95	24,375 55	5,963 88

The receipts and sales for the year 1819, show that the Indian did not feel disposed to continue to trade at the U. S. factory.

At the commencement of the year 1822, there was much excitement caused by the controversy in relation to the usefulness of the U. S. factory system, and a committee was appointed by the U. S. Senate to investigate the condition of the factories.

Many complaints were made against the factor at Prairie du Chien, by those who wished to see the factories abolished.

Ramsay Crooks, who was largely engaged in trade, and agent of the American Fur Company, and of course an interested witness, in a communication to the Senate committee, remarks,—“That the factories have been furnished with goods of a kind not suitable to the Indians, unless the committee should be of opinion that men and women’s coarse and fine shoes, worsted and cotton hose, tea, glauher salts, alum and anti-bilious pills, are necessary to promote the comfort or restore the health of the Aborigines; or that green silk, fancy ribands and morocco slippers are indispensable to eke out the dress of our “red sisters.”*

Mr. Crooks also remarked, that in 1816, the factor at Prairie du Chien furnished goods to a Mr. Antoine Brisbois, whom he well knew had but a few days before been refused a license by the proper officer, and that in 1818 a Mr. Michael Brisbois, a brother, received goods. A Mr. Scott Campbell was also supplied in 1820, and a Mr. Duncan Campbell, who then traded on the Upper Mississippi, was furnished with an outfit, at the very time he was acting as interpreter to the Indian agency at Fort Snelling, which was then first established.

Mr. Crooks concluded his communication with the following remarks upon the moral tendency of the factories: “Little as I value the factory system, so far as it is considered a means of attaching the Indians to the United States, I do think they are, if possible, still less capable of producing religious information in either the Indians or any body else.

“The factories have now degenerated into mere places of trade, to which all colors, descriptions, and denominations of people resort for barter; and bear a much more striking resemblance to common country stores, than to the public establishments of a benevolent government. The desperate efforts which the factors make to secure individually their reputations as traders, and jointly to prop the questionable pecuniary credit of the whole system, are in my opinion but little favorable to that serenity of mind, mildness of disposition, and undeviating conformity to a strictly moral deportment, which we, in civilized society, consider essential qualities in those we trust as our guides to another and better world. Even *we* value example as high as precept; with savages, the former is more likely to be efficacious.

“And believing these gentlemen to be equally fallible with the generality of their brethren in trade, I should imagine they were selected by the superintendent of Indian trade more for their *trafficking* than *apostolic* abilities, as the head of that department is too intimately acquainted with the nature of missions among a rude people, to have appointed the present incumbents to teach repentance and remission of sins to the children of the wilderness. It is hardly necessary to add, that I do not believe that either factories or factors are likely to enlarge the jurisdiction of the church.”

Shortly after this investigation, Congress resolved to abolish the trading posts, and the buildings at Prairie du Chien were sold. The old trading house was of stone, and was destroyed last spring by fire.

After the United States troops arrived in 1819, to build Fort Snelling, Astor and his associates were busy in extending their trade with the Ojibwas. As early as 1805,

*These remarks were made in view of the following charges on the books of the factory at Prairie du Chien:

Michael Brisbois, in acc’t with John W. Johnson:

June 25, 1819,	4 boxes anti-bilious pills, a 75	\$3 00
Nov. 11, “	1 pr. fine shoes,	3 00

Joseph Rolette in acc’t with J. W. Johnson:

July 19, 1819,	1 fancy silk hdkf, per Mrs R.	\$ 2 00
Oct. 25, “	3 lbs. tea delivered La Blanc, a \$3 50	10 50
Jan. 24, 1820,	1-2 lb. glauher salts,	50
Feb. 29, “	1-2 yd. green silk per Polly,	1 00

we find J. B. Ferribault encamped opposite Mendota, trading with the Indians. In 1822, the Columbia Fur Company was organized. This was modeled after the Northwest Company, and consisted of few individuals, all of whom had a practical acquaintance with the trade. They received their license from the newly appointed Indian agent at Fort St. Anthony, (Snelling.) The principal members of the company were Renville, Ferribault, Jeffries, Prescott, and McKenzie, of St. Louis. Their principal establishment was at Lake Traverse, and they had also some ten or eleven minor posts.

The trading houses on the Minnesota river, in 1822, made up the following packs :

	No. of Packs.	Weight.	No. of skins in each.
Buffalo,	168		10
Muskrat,	40		600
Raccoon,	6	100 lbs.	80
Beaver,	4	100 "	80
Otter,	4	100 "	60 prime.
Fisher,	3	100 "	120
Mink,	4	100 "	450
Bear,	6	100 "	14
Red Fox,	1	100 "	120

In 1826, the American Fur Company bought out the Columbia Fur Company, and retained the members in their employment. After this change, Mr. Bailly, now of Wabashaw, took charge of the depot at Mendota. The history of the fur trade in Minnesota, from this period, is too well known to be written. If the present sketch, inaccurate as it may perhaps be found, will stimulate some one more competent to write upon this subject, one of the objects of the writer will have been accomplished.

EXPLORING TOUR.

BY REV. W. T. BOUTWELL.

[Mr. B., by a kind invitation from Mr. Schoolcraft, accompanied the U. S. Exploring Expedition to Itasca Lake in 1832. The party arrived by the way of Lake Superior, at La Pointe, on the 20th of June. For a history of the tour, the reader is referred to the following extracts from Mr. Boutwell's Journal.]

JUNE 20. From the Sault to this place we have been thirteen days, but ten, however of travel. One day we lay wind-bound and the two Sabbaths we rested in obedience to the divine command. In honoring God, we feel that he has prospered us on our way. The distance from the Sault to this place, by my estimate, is about 410 miles. Some of the traders make it 456. To measure distances with any degree of accuracy in this country is a matter of much difficulty; especially if the person is but little accustomed to this mode of travelling.

JUNE 21. It is a real New England summer's day. Have just taken a walk with brother Hall over the farm of Mr. W., the trader of this post. He has from thirty to forty acres under improvement on the island. Mr. Cadotte about two-thirds as much. The oats, barley, peas, and potatoes look well and afford the promise of a good crop.—For the first time Mr. W. has planted a small piece of corn for an experiment. It appears unpromising. I think, however, the soil, which is a mixture of red clay and sand, if well manured, can be made to produce corn. The grass is suffering much for the want of rain. With industry and economy I am satisfied that most, if not all the vegetables, necessary for the support of a family, can be raised here. Much land of a quality inferior to this, is cultivated in New England.

ASCENT OF THE ST. LOUIS RIVER.

JUNE 25. To begin this portage, which is nine miles, we are obliged to ascend a bluff sixty or seventy feet, in an angle of at least forty-five degrees. Up this steep all our baggage and the lading of two barges must be carried on the heads or backs of the men. I say heads, from the fact that a voyageur [boatman] always rests his portage collar on the head. A portage is always divided off into *poses*, or resting places, which vary in length according to the quality of the road or path, but average about half a mile. Our supplies of pork and flour are put into a shape convenient for this kind of transportation. A keg of pork, seventy pounds, and a bag of flour, eighty pounds, is considered a load; or in the dialect of the country, a *piece*, for a voyageur, both of which he takes on his back at once and ascends this bluff. This is new business for the soldiers, who are obliged to carry their own baggage and provisions. The first attempt they made to ascend with their keg of pork and bag of flour, almost every one was unsuccessful. It was not merely a matter of amusement to look at the pork-kegs, flour-bags, knapsacks, baggage, and men which strewed the foot of the ascent, but such as to awaken pity and prompt a helping hand. I undertook to aid one by steadying the bag of flour upon the keg of pork. But we had not proceeded far, when in spite of me, off came the flour, and rolled to the bottom of the bluff. We then both of us undertook to manage the keg, which, not without much difficulty, we succeeded in getting to the top of the bluff. We have made three poses, (a mile and a half,) and here we are overtaken by night.

JUNE 26. At four this morning our men began their day's work. A heavy shower during the day has rendered the path very bad and retarded us somewhat. Our way to-day has been over hills, across deep ravines, and some of the way through mud and water half leg deep. But notwithstanding the rain and badness of the path, the voya-

geurs are cheerful and prompt at their task. They carry their load half a mile, when it is thrown down and they return for another. Some of the men, to-day, have taken three bags, 240 pounds, the whole supported by a strap across the temples, the ends of which are made fast around the bags. Some of the Indian women, several of whom are assisting on the portage, have taken each a bag of flour, a trunk, and soldier's knapsack on her back, and waded through mud and water where I would not drive a dumb beast. But more, not unfrequently the Indian cradle is placed on the top of all, the hoop of which defends the child's head, projecting so high as to catch every bush, now dripping with the rain, and shake it full into the child's face. As the mother cannot well leave the nursing child, it must ride both ways, so that she has not the relief of a voyageur, who takes breath in returning back for another load.

JUNE 27. Struck our tent and renewed our march this morning at six. One of the soldiers who is disabled, a Catholic, a very profane man, saw me reading a tract, and came and asked me for one. It was but yesterday, I gave him a gentle reproof.

Several families keep along in company with us, who are on their way to their summer hunting ground. The woman is often seen with all the materials on her back which makes the Indian's house, and the articles which furnish it, such as kettles, wooden-ladles, drum, traps, and axes; and on the top of all the Indian cradle, in which is bound her nursing child; while the Indian is seldom seen with more than his pipe, tobacco-sack, and musket.

About one o'clock, to-day, we reached the end of the portage. The weather is very warm, and all our men and the Indians are much worn with fatigue.

Mr. S. here distributed presents to the Indians, most of whom have aided us in carrying. They all seem highly gratified with what they receive, and wholly to have forgotten the mud and water through which they have waded. Nor are the squaws neglected. After the presents were distributed, provisions were issued. The flour and meal they take, as usual, in one corner of their blanket, or a horribly dirty old cloth, which has served the place of a shirt, without ever seeing a drop of water or a bit of soap. But after all there is not so great a difference between these Indians and our voyageurs as one might suppose, for they often receive their ration of flour in their pocket-handkerchief or hat.

JUNE 28. This evening finds us at the foot of the Grand Rapids. In reaching this place we ascended several strong rapids, where it required not merely all the strength, but all the skill of the men. Not unfrequently are they obliged to spring from the canoe into the water, in the midst of a rapid, and draw it up by hand. This is the case when the bottom is rocky and the stream shallow, which at the same time lightens the canoe in passing over the rocks. Nor is it rare for the water to dash over the bow and sides, in which case some one is sure of getting wet. No one can form an idea of the difficulty of ascending this stream, until he has made a trial of it. The scenery of to-day has been delightful. The maple, iron-wood, cedar, elm, and oak grow here in perfection.

The mosquitoes here are extremely voracious, and oblige a man constantly to fight for life. Put ashore at nine this morning, and breakfasted in their midst. Continued to ascend rapid after rapid till afternoon, when we reached what may be called the low-lands, where we found comparatively smooth water, and sufficiently deep for a steamboat. The banks here are moderately elevated; an alluvial deposit, covered with rank grass and a thrifty growth of maple, ash, elm, bass-wood, with some spruce, pine, and cedar.

An old Indian, in company with us, passing a large stone raising out of the middle of the river, left his offering of tobacco to the *menito*, or spirit. This evening we reached the mouth of the Savanna river, a stream emptying into the St. Louis. It is deep, but narrow, and winding in its course, with low banks covered with wild grass. Ducks were abundant.

JUNE 30. Reached the *Savanna*, from which the stream takes its name, a tract of low, marshy ground, overgrown with rushes, flags, and small clumps of bushes, the very nestling places of mosquitoes. At noon we reached the Savanna portage. The portage path was filled with mud and water, through which the canoes were drawn by men wading to their middle.

JULY 1. Sabbath. We have most of the day been obliged to house ourselves as well as we could. The rain, which has a part of the day fallen in torrents, and the mosquitoes, have rendered it impracticable for us to have divine service. It has been such a Sabbath as I never before witnessed. At one moment our men were singing some Indian hymn; the next a song or dancing tune: the next moment an Indian would begin to thump his drum and sing, that he might make his part of the noise, and render the scene of confusion more perfect. It was no small relief to me, that Mr. S. and myself, who occupied the same tent, could have prayers and spend the day in reading the Scriptures and other books which we had taken with us.

JULY 2. The heavy rains of Saturday night and Sabbath, have rendered the portage almost impossible. The mud, for the greater part of the way, will average ancle deep, and from that upwards; in some places it is a perfect quagmire. Our men are covered with mud from head to foot. Some have lost one leg of their pantaloons, others both. Their shirts and moccasins are all of a piece, full of rents and mud. Mangled feet, and bruised backs and legs, were brought forward this evening to the doctor. While I write, his tent door is thronged with the lame and halt. Every one carries some mark of the Savanna portage.

JULY 3. At eleven, A. M., we embarked in what is called the western Savanna river. The stream here is barely wide and deep enough to swim our canoes. Its course, like the former, is exceedingly winding. Its banks are covered with a most luxuriant growth of wild grass, principally blue-joint, which rots on the ground. The prairie is bounded on each side by small ridges mostly of red pine. At four P. M., reached Sandy Lake, which has been estimated by some to be about twenty-five miles in circumference. It is very irregular in shape, embracing many islands and bays. It may be seven or eight miles across it, from the mouth of Savanna river to its winding outlet, which communicates with the Mississippi. Leaving the lake, we had not proceeded far, when my attention was arrested by something on the left bank, which to me was both strange and new. I looked repeatedly, but unable to satisfy myself, asked what it was. To which Mr. S. replied, that they were coffins, and that that was the manner in which these Indians often bury their dead. Four posts are set in the ground from seven to nine feet high, by means of which a sort of scaffold is raised, and upon that, in the open air, the coffin is placed. Arriving at the trading post, we were welcomed by the discharge of muskets, and the hoisting of the American flag, by the few Indians that remain. This post is about 750 miles from Mackinaw, and 140 from Fond du Lac.

Corn, for this post, is mostly obtained at Red lake, from the Indians, who there cultivate it to considerable extent. Mr. R. tells me he brought 100 bushels from that place this spring; and that it is not a rare matter to meet a squaw, who has even this quantity to sell. Most of the land, in the vicinity of this post, is either low and subject to inundation, or sandy, and of comparatively little value for cultivation. Small plats of ground, however, may be selected here and there, which are good.

In going over Mr. A.'s premises this morning, among other things, I visited the Indian burying-place. This is on a rise of ground, some thirty or forty rods north of the fort. The cross, a piece of board, or a round post three feet above ground, striped with vermilion, marks the place of the dead. Some of the graves are enclosed by logs, raised a few feet and covered with cedar bark, in the form of a roof, so as to turn the water. Others are guarded by low pickets, while others are exposed to the tread of man and beast. Here lies a chief who deceased about twenty days since, not as others, under ground, but raised some eight or ten feet in the air. Four posts, stained with vermilion, support the scaffold, upon which the coffin, covered with birch bark, is placed. The American flag, which was presented to him as one of the insignia of his chieftainship, is planted at his head, there to flit in the wind till it is gone. In one of Mr. A.'s inclosures lie the remains of another chief, raised in the same manner above ground. This chief deceased some years since, and in the mean time, I am informed, the scaffold has once or twice decayed and fallen, but been again erected.

Here we embark on the Mississippi, which Lieut. A. ascertains, by actual measurement, to be 110 yards and one-third in width at this place.

SOURCES OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

JULY 5. The Mississippi here is deep, its banks low and covered with a luxuriant growth of elm, maple, ash, and cedar. For much of the distance its banks are alluvial, a rich deposit from the bed of the stream. Its course here is east or southeast. Passed Swan river this evening, sixty miles from Sandy lake. We have marched from four o'clock this morning, till half past eight this evening; and for these sixteen hours and a half, I have not been out of the canoe but once, save for breakfast. The day has passed heavily. Comfort is a term to which man is a stranger while on such a tour. But he knows full well what fatigue, heat, rain, and mosquitoes are.

JULY 7. At 10 A. M., reached the *Pokegema Falls*. Wild rice first appeared just below this place. The current in some parts of the river is considerable, in others there are rapids. In ascending the rapids a short distance below these falls, our canoe was twice carried down the stream, paddles and poles notwithstanding. Happily, however, for us all, it was kept right side up. The river branches above the head of these falls and comes into the main stream again just below them, forming a small island. The whole width of the falls, I should judge, to be about twenty yards, and the whole descent fifteen feet. We make a short portage here, perhaps two hundred and fifty yards. At twelve o'clock we left these falls, which are one hundred and fifty miles above Sandy lake; and upon embarking again, we entered the Savanna, the end of which I almost despair of ever seeing. The Mississippi here is more serpentine than can easily be imagined. Its borders are lined with wild rice, sedge, and Indian rush. The white lily also is found here. The change in the atmosphere since yesterday, is great, from the torrid; I should think we had entered the frigid zone, and I am obliged to resort to my cloak.

JULY 8. Sabbath. Read a hymn, and portions of scripture to a few Indians who accompany us, to which they all listened attentively. I also presented a little tract to one of them, from which I read. He thanked me, and soon after, to make me some return, came with some *pakusigon*, the leaves of a running vine, which they dry and smoke. At four, P. M., collected the Indians and Frenchmen, and read, sung and prayed with them. A shower of rain interrupted me while addressing them.

EVENING. A man has just arrived from Leech lake, who informs us of the return of the Pillagers from their war excursion. They met a war party of the Sioux, and both commenced the work of death. The Ojibwas lost one man, and killed three Sioux, whose scalps they brought home with rejoicing. The same person also informs us, that a party of Sioux came to the trading post at Pembina, where they scalped a child and fled. The Ojibwas pursued, overtook, and revenged themselves, by killing four of the party. Oh, how long ere these tribes shall learn war no more! It is now "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth."

JULY 9. About ten this morning, reached Point au Chene; soon after passing which, we left the Mississippi and entered a tributary, which takes us into a small lake ten miles in length. Leaving this we entered another stream, and came to another small lake; from this, entered another stream and came to a third lake, from which we made a short portage across a beautiful ridge of yellow pine. Here we embarked in the small Winnipeg lake, two miles in width and four in length. Crossing this from east to west, we entered the Mississippi again, and in about two hours reached large Winnipeg lake. This is a beautiful body of water, stretching from east to west fifteen or twenty miles. Here the aspect of the country again assumes a different and a pleasing character. The eastern shore is covered with a luxuriant growth of oak and maple. The trading-post is located on the north-eastern shore, near the mouth of a considerable stream which empties into the lake. The land immediately about the post, is for the most part low, but of a good quality. The corn, peas, potatoes and squashes, all look well, also a small yard of tobacco. The soil is cultivated with ease. Dogs in this country, with the Canadian French, supply the place of oxen and horses, neither of which are possessed by the trader here. His house is made of logs, and in the manner of the country, ceiled with mud. The windows are made of deer skins in their natural state, save that the hair is taken off. These, when well oiled, admit sufficient

light for all the purposes of the household work, which is done here. The few Indians present at the post, requested permission to dance this evening, as they wished for some tobacco. Two men and a few boys, with their muskets in hand, performed, while two others sung and drummed, one on a paddle-handle for the want of another drum. It was so dark that I could not well examine their ornaments, save that one had a polecat's tail hung on each side, and a head-dress falling behind, covering nearly all his otherwise naked back. They were much animated when the tobacco was thrown into their midst, each raising the yell at the same time, and clapping the mouth with the hand.

UPPER RED CEDAR LAKE.

JULY 10. Reached Upper Red Cedar, or Cassina lake. This latter name it receives from Governor Cass, who visited it in 1820. Two branches of the Mississippi enter into this lake. The Indians residing here, being aware of our approach, came to meet us, firing salutes of musketry. Their summer village, they informed us, was on an island about ten miles distant.

As we approached this island from the northeast, which overlooks the lake by a high bluff, rising some sixty or more feet above the water, almost the first object that caught my eye, was a fine field of corn, potatoes, and squashes, growing luxuriantly. The next I knew was a discharge of muskets from amid the standing corn. We were directed to make the west side of the island, where we should find a good landing, and a place for encampment. In the mean time, one continual hooting, yelling, and firing was kept up behind the bushes which lined the shore. On disembarking, I found a musket in the hand of almost every little Indian boy, many of whom following the example of their fathers, came forward and took us by the hand. All bid us welcome, and seemed overjoyed that their father has come to see his children.

EVENING. While our canoes were unlading, tent erecting, &c., I took a walk to see the field of corn in the northern extremity of the island, which we passed. But ere I had reached it, I passed no less than two or three other little fields, all of which remind me of New England, where I never saw better corn, squashes, or potatoes, than I find here with Indian culture. The growth of wood and timber on this part of the island, is entirely destroyed, save here and there a large oak or maple. All the high land is covered with rank grass and sumach, except the plats here and there under cultivation.

The soil is easy to work with a hoe, the only tool with which the squaw makes her garden. I say *squaw*, from the fact that she always makes the garden, inasmuch as the Indian deems it degrading to himself to use the hoe or axe. I next visited the lodges, which were about half a mile south from our encampment. Here I found another piece of corn, potatoes and squashes. While our party were procuring some small canoes suitable for our route to Elk lake, I went into one of the lodges, read several portions of Scripture; among others the ten commandments, and sung several Indian hymns. All listened with apparent interest and surprise. As I had not an interpreter, I was unable to communicate much more than to read such portions of Scripture and hymns, as were familiar to me. In the lodge, directly before me, were suspended three human scalps. These were the trophies of victory with which they had just returned from the Sioux. Several of the warriors of this band, joined the Leech lake band in the recent excursion, and the Indian who was killed, belonged here.

Before I had returned to our tent, which is pitched but a few yards from two graves, the greater part of the Indians had here collected, and begun the scalp-dance. It was led by three squaws, each bearing in her hand one of the recent scalps. Two or three men sat beating drums and singing, while old and young, male and female, all joined in the song. Occasionally all would become so animated that there would be one general hop, and all at the same time, throwing their heads back, would raise a most horrid yell, clapping the mouth with the hand, to render it, if possible, more terrific. Here were seen little boys and girls, not six years old, all looking on with the most intense interest, imitating their fathers and mothers, and participating in their brutal joy. Thus early do they learn by precept and example, to imbibe the spirit of revenge and war,

which is fostered in their bosoms, and in after life stimulates them to go and perform some deed of daring and blood, which shall gain for themselves the like applause.

A circumstance which rendered the scene not a little appalling, is, it was performed around the graves of the dead. At the head of those graves, hangs an old scalp, some ten feet above the ground, which the winds have almost divested of its ornaments and its hair. The grass and the turf for several yards around, are literally destroyed, and I presume, by their frequent dancing. One of the scalps, I examined. The flesh side had apparently been smoked and rubbed with some material till it was pliant, after which it was painted with vermilion. A piece of wood is turned in the form of a horse-shoe, into which the scalp is sewed, the threads passing round the wood, which keeps it tight. Narrow pieces of cloth and ribands of various colors, attached to the bow, were ornamented with beads and feathers. A small stick, which serves for a handle to shake it in the air when they dance, was attached to the top of the bow by a string. While examining it, a lock of hair fell from it, which the Indian gave me, and which I still preserve.

MARCH TO ELK LAKE.

JULY 13. Commenced our march this morning, at six, and continued it till nine. The weather is warm and sultry, and the mosquitoes more numerous and savage than can be imagined. We now leave this branch of the Mississippi and make a portage of six miles, when I hope to see the highest source of that river. At eleven A. M., took our effects on our backs, and entered a swamp, leaving which, we came to a ridge of small grey pines which we followed most of the remainder of the distance, and at two P. M., reached Elk lake.* This is a small but beautiful body of water, about eight miles in length and from half a mile to two or more in breadth. Its form is exceedingly irregular, from which the Indians gave it the name of Elk, in reference to its branching horns. The distance from Upper Red Cedar lake by the southeast fork, is about one hundred and twenty miles.

JULY 14. Embarked at half past five, and descended two or three strong and difficult rapids. In one of them a canoe was capsized, and all the men and their effects were thrown into the midst of the rapids. Hearing an outcry, I turned to see what was the matter, when the first I saw was a keg of pork, bounding down the rapids over the stones with one head out. The next was a loaf of bread, which the Indian in my canoe took in with his spear. Nothing can exceed the grandeur and pleasure of the scene, in descending a large stream in one of these small canoes, when the current is strong, and the water smooth. The canoe is borne on, not only with all the rapidity of the current, but when the paddles are applied, its speed is like that of a race horse.

This afternoon passed the Sioux embankment. This consists of two considerable cavities in the earth, sufficient to conceal thirty men. They are so situated on the bank of the river, as just to overlook a bend, which is the commencement of a considerable rapid. Here, I am informed, a party of Sioux once entrenched themselves, and killed a large number of the Ojibwas as they were descending the river. When they once entered the rapids, there was no escape.

RETURN TO UPPER RED CEDAR LAKE.

JULY 15. Sabbath. Reached the island early this morning, having marched all night. Find all our men well, and much recruited by resting four days, during our absence. The party that have accompanied us, are so much fatigued by our tour to Elk lake, that it is thought best to defer our service in English, while I devote what time and strength I have, to the Indians. Retired in the morning with the three pious soldiers, and spent an hour in prayer and conversation. I find them all much depressed. I read to some of the Indians who came to our tent this forenoon. In the afternoon collected about seventy Indians or more, all of whom listened with apparent interest and good attention to the word of God, and most of them for the first time. Our place

*Elk lake, now called Itasca, is regarded as the highest source of the Mississippi river.

of assembling was near the graves, before mentioned, on the ground where the horrid scalp-dance is often exhibited. Never did I witness a more interesting, respectful, and attentive Indian audience. Mr. J. read to them the account of the creation and flood, after which I read the ten commandments from which I made some remarks, and informed them of the object of my visit. The inquiry was put to the principal man, the chief being absent, "Would you like to have a missionary come and live with you, instruct your children, and tell you about God?" To which he replied, "Neither myself nor any one present can answer the inquiry, as the chief is absent, and many of the young men are very vicious."

As we assembled for our worship, five or six Indians were sitting near, engaged in a game of platter, which was soon left. Not long after our meeting closed, the dance began and continued without cessation, till eleven o'clock. I learned from some of the men who remained, that the Indians danced almost day and night during our absence. I am also informed that three canoes from Leech lake passed here yesterday, on their way to Red lake, to carry the wampum and the pipe to invite that band to join them in another war party, to revenge the death of the Indian who was killed in their late excursion.

I much regret that I must leave this country without seeing the chief. The land is capable of raising corn, and I presume, wheat, barley, and rye. The first is already cultivated to a considerable extent. This band has no very distinguished *medicine man*, or conjurer among them, whose influence is much to be feared. One would think, in looking at their growing corn, potatoes, &c., that they are already far advanced in the arts of civilized life. One requested a few beans to plant next year. Another, asked for a little salt, and in return, brought us some very fine potatoes, which were not merely a rarity to us, but a curiosity here at this advanced season. They obtained the corn, which they have cultivated here many years, from Red river. The island is large and in the form of a cross. The lake is a large body of water, and affords many fish. Much wild rice also, is gathered in the vicinity. The only water communication is with the Mississippi river. The distance to Sandy lake is three hundred and fifty or four hundred miles; and to the Falls of St. Anthony the distance is from six hundred and fifty to eight hundred miles.

LEECH LAKE.

JULY 16. At 10, A. M., we took leave of our Indian friends here, and in a southeast course proceeded to Leach Lake, passing a number of islands in our way, on which red cedar is found, from which the lake takes its name. We made two short portages, and came to small lakes which we traversed, passing through their outlets, till we reached a large stream, which bore us to Leech Lake, than which nothing can be more irregular in shape. We reached the Indian village, at ten in the evening, a distance of forty-five or fifty miles.

JULY 17. At day-break my slumbers were broken by the discharge of muskets and the yell of Indians, who had collected to give us a morning salute. On going to the door of the tent, I was not a little surprised to find a field of corn and potatoes at our heads, which was not discovered last evening amid the darkness. Early this morning the principal chief sent his *mishiniue*, waiting-man, requesting Mr. S. to come and breakfast with him. Decorum, and to avoid giving offence, required him to comply with the request, though he was at liberty to furnish the table mostly himself. A mat spread in the middle of the floor served as a table, upon which the dishes were placed. Around this were spread others upon which the guests sat, while the wife of the chief waited upon the table and poured the tea. She afterwards took her breakfast by herself. After breakfast was over, Mr. J. accompanied us to the chief's quarters to give us an introduction. It is a building, perhaps twenty feet by twenty-five, made of logs, and which, I am informed, was presented him by one of the traders. As we entered, the old chief, bare-legged and bare-foot, sat with much dignity upon a cassette. A blanket and cloth about the loins covered his otherwise naked body, which was painted black. His chief men occupied a bench by his side, while forty or more of his warriors sat on the floor around the walls of his room smoking. The old man

rose and gave us his hand as we were introduced, bidding us take a seat at his right, on his bed. As I cast my eyes around upon this savage group, for once I wished that I possessed the painter's skill. The old chief had again resumed his seat upon the large wooden trunk, and as if to sit a little more like a white man than an Indian, had thrown one leg across the other knee. His warriors were all feathered, painted, and equipped for service. Many of them wore the insignia of courage, a strip of pole-cat skin round the head and heels, the bushy tail of the animal so attached to the latter as to drag on the ground. The crown of the head was ornamented with standing feathers, indicating the number of enemies the individual had killed, on one of which I counted no less than twelve. Their look was full of wildness, such as I never saw before, combining the fierceness of the tiger with the boldness of the lion.

One side of his room was hung with an English and an American flag, medals, war-clubs, lances, tomahawks, arrows, and other implements of death. All seemed to whisper, this is the dwelling of the strong man armed. The subject of vaccination was now presented to the chief, with which he was pleased, and ordered his people to assemble for the purpose. I stood by the doctor and kept the minutes, while he performed the business.

After the presents had been distributed, Mr. S., wishing to reach the mouth of the Des Corbeau in season to fulfill his engagement there, requested me to address the Indians on the subject of my visit. They all listened attentively while I related to them what the Christian public are doing for their people in Canada, at the Sault Ste Marie, and at La Pointe, and also what is doing for the Seneca, Oneida, and Stockbridge Indians. I assured them of the interest felt for them as a people, and that their friends were ready to do something for them in the way of instructing their children, if they wished.

Preparations were now making for taking our leave, when the chief arose and announced to the Indians that he would speak a few words, as we should be displeased if he did not. Giving his hand again to each, he addressed himself to Mr. S. After the old chief closed his speech, he requested a white shirt of Mr. S. and some other things, (I say white, because so seldom seen in this country,) that he might lay aside his mourning. Just as we were ready to embark, the old man came out in all his regimentals—a military coat, faced with red, ruffle shirt, hat, pantaloons, gloves and shoes. So entirely changed was his appearance, that I did not recognize him till he spoke.

This band is considered the largest, and perhaps the most warlike in the whole Ojibwa nation. It numbers 706, exclusive of a small band, probably 100, on Bear Island, one of the numerous islands in this lake; but the reason of their not being numbered with the Leech Lake band the old chief did not give. This lake abounds with fish of a fine quality. Wild rice is also gathered in its bays in considerable quantities. Fish and rice here are the principal means of subsistence, though the Indians, to some extent, cultivate the land. This band have eight places where they cultivate the ground and pass some part of the spring and summer. The numbers, location, and means of subsistence, give this place advantages superior to any I have yet seen, if a missionary could live among these savage men. It is situated in the neighborhood, (as it would be termed in this country,) of Upper Red Cedar or Cassina band, Winnipeg band, which are each but forty-five or fifty miles distant; of Red Lake band about three days march distant, and Sandy Lake about the same. It is central in relation to these neighboring bands, with each of which they have frequent intercourse at all seasons of the year.

RETURN TO THE MISSISSIPPI.

JULY 18. While prosecuting our journey this afternoon, the old chief and one of his counsellors, Machi Gabo, with their wives, overtook us. He appeared more friendly to our government than his speech indicated yesterday. He came to see how we were getting along without guides, who, as we did not tarry this morning for them to come to our place of encampment, probably turned back. We have crossed five short portages to-day, the longest of which is nearly two miles, and the shortest, one *pose*, or half a mile. The number of lakes we have crossed is nine, some of which are sep-

arated only by a narrow stream of a few yards in length. This, I am informed, is the character of the country in this region. In what way soever you go, you are sure soon to fall upon a small lake.

JULY 21. At 12 o'clock, reached the mouth of the Des Corbeau; a large stream, three days from Leech Lake—distance 230 miles. Here we found the Sandy Lake band, who were absent when we visited that place. They had sent two canoes up the river a few miles, to meet us and give them a signal of our approach. All were encamped on the high banks of the Mississippi, which for several rods was completely lined with their bark canoes and wigwams, near which four or five American flags were hoisted. As we drew near to disembark, all collected on the high bluff directly above us, and commenced their discharge of muskets, their jumping and yelling, while the frightened dogs added what they could to the scene of confusion. Hardly were our tents pitched ere the canoe from Sandy Lake arrived with the presents which Mr. S. left there for this band. These were issued, and Mr. S. addressed the chiefs on the subject of their keeping the peace with their neighbors, the Sioux. The chiefs, in reply, reminded him of the treaty at Prairie du Chien and at Fon du Lac. "The promise of the Great Father," they said, "had not been fulfilled. Their neighbors already called them women and not men, because they sat still; and if a war party should come along, or if they should send them the pipe, they did not know how they should act."

While issuing the presents and counselling with the Indians, two or three men came in from an excursion, with three bears on their shoulders. They made us a present of some of the meat as we left. It was now quite late, and we wished to descend the Mississippi, about eighteen miles to pass the Sabbath. Mr. S., therefore, invited the Indians to accompany us, or come in the morning, as I wished to say some things to them, which I had not time now to communicate.

JULY 23. The gentleman engaged in the fur-trade at this place speaks well of this band of Indians, and is desirous of a school at or near his post, offering to do all in his power to aid, in case a person is sent here. This is the hunting ground, both summer and winter, for the Sandy Lake band, and it is in this vicinity, also, that they make their gardens. The disposition of the band also is pacific, compared with that of all the other bands northwest. In addition to all, the soil here is of a fine quality, prairie land, ready for the spade or the plough. The place, however, is contiguous to the Sioux country, with whom the Ojibwas are now at war, and might on that account be unsafe for a mission school.

DESCENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI—FORT SNELLING.

Embarked at six, A. M., and commenced our descent of the Mississippi. The east bank is generally high, rising in many places to a bluff, while the west, at the same time, is low and alluvial. The current is strong, amounting to rapids almost every few miles. At eight we reached the Little Falls. Instead of making a short portage here, as is usual, the water being sufficiently high to clear the canoe from stones, we only put into the current and let her drive. The stream is full of small islands, many of which are covered with a beautiful growth of elm, maple, butternut, and white walnut. The country here is prairie, extending as far as the eye can reach, with here and there a clump of oaks, which at a distance looks like some old New England orchard. It is the most interesting and inviting tract of country I have ever seen. If there is any thing that can meet the wishes, and fill the soul of man with gratitude, it is found here. What would require the labor of years, in preparing the land for cultivation in many of the old states, is here all prepared to the hand. As far as the eye can reach, is one continued field of grass and flowers, waving in the passing breeze, exhibiting the appearance of a country which has been cultivated for centuries, but now deserted of its inhabitants. The gentle swells, which are seen here and there, give a pleasing variety. The soil is apparently easy of cultivation, a black earth and a mixture of black sand. Nothing can be more picturesque or grand, than the high banks at a distance, rising before you as you descend. The islands, in the stream, are most of them alluvial, a soil of the richest quality.

We have marched thirteen hours and a half to-day, at the rate of ten miles per hour, and are encamped this evening in the dominions of the Sioux, though we have as yet seen none.

JULY 24. Embarked at five this morning, and marched till twelve, when we reached the falls of St. Anthony, nine miles above the mouth of the St. Peter's. Our government have here a saw-mill and grist-mill on the west bank of the Mississippi, and also have a large farm. The soldiers are here cutting the hay. For beauty, the country around exceeds all that I can say. These falls are an interesting object to look at, but there is nothing about them that fills one with awe, as do the falls of Niagara. The stream is divided in about its centre by a bluff of rocks covered with a few trees. The perpendicular fall is perhaps twenty feet on each side of this bluff, at the foot of which there is a shoot of some ten or fifteen feet more in a descent.

A short portage was made around the falls, when we again embarked in the rapids, and in about an hour reached Fort Snelling. This post is located at the junction of the St. Peter's with the Mississippi. It stands on a high bluff, rising on the north nearly 300 feet above the water. The walls of the fort, and of most of the buildings, are of stone. The tower commands an extensive and beautiful view of the adjacent country, and of the Mississippi and St. Peter's rivers. The officers visited us at our tents, invited us to their quarters, and treated us with much kindness and attention.

After Mr. S. had stated to three or four of the principal Sioux chiefs who had been requested to visit him, the object of his tour, and mentioned the complaints which the Ojibwas brought against them for breaking the treaties of Prairie du Chien and Fon du lac, Little Crow rose and replied, that he recollected those treaties, when they smoked the pipe, and all agreed to eat and drink out of the same dish. He wished the line to be drawn between them and the Ojibwas; the sooner it was fixed the better. He alluded to the late war party from Leech lake, which had killed two of his nephews, and were now dancing around their scalps; but he did not complain, nor would he go and revenge their death. He denied that the Sioux were in league with the Sacs and Foxes. Black Dog, and the Man-who-floats-on-the-water, also spoke in much the same manner.

RETURN TO LAKE SUPERIOR.

JULY 26. Took leave of our friends here this morning, and descended about nine miles, when we came to Little Crow's village. Here we were received with a salute, in giving which, however, some of his men endeavored to give us an example of their skill as marksmen, by seeing how near they could come to our canoe and yet not hit it. Several of the balls struck the water within a few feet of us. An Indian always puts in a ball, if he has one, in firing a salute. The Sioux have here, a number of comfortable dwellings made of poles covered with bark. They raise corn, potatoes, etc. The Mississippi here, loses its prairie character, and its banks become thinly wooded. The east shore, in many places, is rocky, and covered with red cedar. At three, P. M., entered St. Croix lake, from which we are to enter the St. Croix river, which we are to ascend on our return to Lake Superior.

JULY 31. We embarked at five this morning, and at ten reached the mouth of Yellow river, which communicates with Ottawa lake. Here we found a few Indians. A woman brought us a bowl of new potatoes, and a pan of dried venison. The potatoes were an unexpected rarity. The venison was first dried or smoked, and then pulverized in a mortar. The Indians here raise corn, potatoes, and squashes in considerable quantities. In fifteen miles we came to the forks of the St. Croix.

AUGUST 1. Wild rice looks beautifully on the margin of the river as we ascend. The bed of the stream is completely paved with stones, and we have rapid upon rapid since leaving the forks. For miles our men have been obliged to wade in the stream and lift the canoe over the rocks, while we are glad to find our way as we can, sometimes in the middle of the stream, and sometimes on the shore.

BATTLE OF LAKE POKEGUMA.

NARRATED BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

Pokeguma is one of the "Mille Lacs," or thousand beautiful lakes for which Minnesota is remarkable.

It is about four or five miles in extent, and two miles or more in width. Its shores are strewn with boulders that in a past geologic age have been brought by some mighty impetus from the icy north. Down to the water's edge grow the tall pines, through which, for many years the deer have bounded, and the winds sighed mournfully, as they wafted away to distant lands, the shriek of many Dakota or Ojibwa mothers, caused by the slaughter of their children.

This lake is situated on Snake river, about twenty miles above the junction of that stream, with the Saint Croix. Though as late as the year 1700, the Dakotas resided in this vicinity, for a long period it has been the residence of their enemies, the Ojibwas.

In the year 1836, missionaries of the American Board of Foreign Missions, connected with the Congregational and Presbyterian denominations, came to reside among the Ojibwas of Pokeguma, to promote their temporal and spiritual welfare. Their mission house was built on the east side of the lake. But the Indian village was on an island not far from the shore. In a few years, several Indian families, among others, that of the chief, were induced to build log houses around the mission. The missionaries felt, to use the language of one of them, that "the motives of the gospel had no more influence over the Indian, in themselves considered, than over the deer that he follows in the chase." They therefore first encouraged the Indian to work, and always purchased of him his spare provisions.

By aiding them in this way, many had become quite industrious. In a letter written from Pokeguma, in 1837, we find the following: "The young women and girls now make, mend, wash, and iron after our manner. The men have learned to build log houses, drive team, plough, hoe, and handle an American axe with some skill in cutting large trees, the size of which, two years ago, would have afforded them a sufficient reason why they should not meddle with them."

On May 15th, 1841, two young men had gone, by order of Mr. Russell, now of Sauk Rapids, then Indian Farmer at Pokeguma, to the falls of Saint Croix, after a load of provisions. On the next day, which was Sunday, the news arrived there, that a Dakota war party, headed by Little Crow, of the Kaposia band, whose face is so familiar to the citizens of Saint Paul, was on the way to their village. Immediately they started back on foot to give the alarm to their relatives and friends.

They had hardly left the falls, on their return, before they saw a party of Dakotas, stripped and bedaubed with vermilion, and preparing themselves for war. The sentinel of the enemy, had not noticed the approach of the young men. A few yards in front of the Ojibwa youth, sat two of the sons of Little Crow, behind a log, exulting, no doubt, in anticipation of the scalps in reserve for them, at the lake. In the twinkling of an eye, these two young Ojibwas raised their guns, fired, and killed both of the chief's sons. The sentinel, who had by his carelessness allowed them to pass, was a third son. The discharge of the guns revealed to him that an enemy was near, and as the Ojibwas were retreating, he fired, and mortally wounded one of the two.

Hellish was the rage of the Dakotas, at this disastrous surprise. According to custom, the corpses of the chiefs sons were dressed, and then set up with their faces towards the country of their ancient enemies. The wounded Ojibwa was horribly mangled by the infuriated party, and his limbs strewn about in every direction. His scalped head was placed in a kettle, and suspended in front of the two Dakota corpses, in the belief that it would be gratifying to the spirits of the deceased, to see before them the bloody and scalpless head of one of their enemies.

Little Crow, disheartened by the loss of his two boys, returned with his party to Kaposia. But other parties were in the field. The Dakotas had divided themselves into three bands; and it was the understanding that one party was first to attack Pokeguma, and then retire. After the Ojibwas supposed that the attack was over, the second party was to commence their fire, and after they had ceased to fight, the third party was to begin to slaughter.

The second party proceeded as far as the mouth of Snake river, but supposing that the Ojibwas had discovered them, they turned back, and upon their arrival at the falls of Saint Croix, they were still more chagrined, by hearing of the death of the sons of the Kaposia chief.

It was not till Friday, the 21st of May, that the death of one of the young Ojibwas sent by Mr. Russell, to the falls of Saint Croix, was known at Pokeguma. The murdered youth was a son of one of those families who had renounced heathenism, and whose parents lived on the lake shore, in one of the log buildings, by the mission house. The intelligence alarmed the Ojibwas on the island opposite the mission, and on Monday, the 24th, three young men left in a canoe to go to the west shore of the lake, and from thence to Mille Lacs, to give intelligence to the Ojibwas there, of the skirmish that had already occurred. They took with them two Indian girls, about twelve years of age, who were pupils of the mission school, for the purpose of bringing the canoe back to the island. Just as the three were landing, twenty or thirty Dakota warriors, with a war whoop, emerged from their concealment behind the trees, and fired into the canoe. The young men instantly sprang into the water, which was shallow, returned the fire, and ran into the woods, escaping without material injury.

The little girls in their fright, waded into the lake; and as in Indian warfare it is as noble to kill an infant as an adult, a delicate woman as a strong man, the Dakota braves, with their spears and war clubs, rushed into the water after the children and killed them. Their parents upon the island, heard the death cries of their children; and for a time the scene was one of wildest confusion. Some of the Indians around the mission house, jumped into their canoes and gained the island. Others went into some fortified log buildings. The attack upon the canoe it was afterwards learned was premature. The party upon that side of the lake were ordered not to fire, until the party stationed in the woods, near the mission, commenced.

There were in all 111 Dakota warriors, and the fight was in the vicinity of the mission house, and the Ojibwas mostly engaged in it were those who had been under religious instruction. The rest were upon the island. During the engagement an incident occurred, as worthy of note as some of those in Grecian history.

The fathers of the murdered girls, burning for revenge, left the island in a canoe, and drawing it up on the shore, hid behind it, and fired upon the Dakotas and killed one. The Dakotas advancing upon them, they were obliged to escape. The canoe was now launched. One lay on his back in the bottom; the other plunged into the water. Holding the canoe with one hand and swimming with the other, he towed his friend out of danger. The Dakotas, infuriated at their escape, fired volley after volley at the swimmer, but he escaped the balls by putting his head under water, whenever he saw them take aim, and waiting till he heard the discharge, when he would look up and breathe.

After a fight of two hours, the Dakotas retreated with a loss of two men. At the request of the parents, Mr. E. F. Ely, now of St. Paul, from whose notes the writer has obtained his facts, being at that time a teacher at the mission, went across the lake, with two of his friends, to gather the remains of his murdered pupils. He found the corpses on the shore. The heads cut off, and scalped, with a tomahawk buried in the brains of each, was set up in the sand near the bodies. The bodies were pierced in the breast, and the right arm of one was taken away. Removing the tomahawks, the bodies were brought back to the island, and in the afternoon, were buried in accordance with the simple, but solemn rites of the Church of Christ, by members of the mission.

It is usual for Indians to leave their murdered on or near the battle field, with their faces looking towards the enemy's country; and on Wednesday, the Ojibwas started out in search of the Dakotas that had been killed. By following the trail, they soon

found the two bodies, and scalped them. One of the heads was also cut off and brought to the island, to adorn the graves of the little girls. To a Northwestern savage, such a head-stone at a daughter's grave is more gratifying than one of sculptured Italian marble. Strips of flesh were fastened to the trees. A breast was also taken, and cooked and eaten by the braves to express their hatred to the Dakotas.

The mother and wife of the young man who had been killed by Little Crow's third son, were each presented with a hand. These women had been accustomed to attend preaching at the mission house, and knew the principles of the Prince of Peace. Though they had, in 1839, lost many relatives by an attack from the Dakotas, on Rum river, they engaged in no savage orgies, but withdrawing to their wigwam, they placed the hands of their foes upon their knees, gazed in silence, then wrapped them in white muslin and interred them. Such is one of the many similar scenes that has occurred in our own Territory within ten years. The president of the Historical Society, in his address of 1851, well remarked, that the region between the falls of St. Croix and Mille Laes, is a "Golgotha"—a place of skulls.

The sequel to this story is soon told. The Indians of Pokeguma, after the fight, deserted their village, and went to reside with their countrymen near Lake Superior.

In July of the following year, a war party was formed at Fon du Lac, about forty in number, and proceeded towards the Dakota country. When they reached Kettle river, they were joined by the Ojibwas of St. Croix and Mille Laes, and thus numbered about one hundred warriors. Sneaking, as none but Indians can, they arrived unnoticed at the little settlement, below St. Paul, commonly called "Pig's Eye," which is opposite Kaposia, or Little Crow's village. Finding an Indian woman at work in the garden of her husband, a Canadian, by the name of Gamelle, they killed her; also another woman, with her infant, whose head was cut off. The Dakotas, on the opposite side, were mostly intoxicated; and flying across in their canoes but half prepared, they were worsted in the encounter. They lost about twelve warriors, and one of their number, known as the Dancer, the Ojibwas are said to have skinned.

N.

WAKON TEEPEE.

GRANT OF LAND AT THE CAVE IN DAYTON'S BLUFF.

Several interesting historical associations cluster around the cave in the suburbs of Saint Paul, below the junction of Trout brook with the river. The Dakotas call it Wakan Tipi, or House of the Spirit. A century ago the chiefs of the various bands of the Dakotas used to hold their councils in this vicinity, and the bones of the dead were brought from a distance and interred upon the bluffs above.

Carver, in April 1767, came to this cave, with several chiefs from the bands on the Minnesota river. He thus describes it:

"The entrance into it is about ten feet wide, the height of it five feet. The arch within is nearly fifteen feet high and about thirty feet broad. The bottom of it consists of fine clear sand. About twenty feet from the entrance begins a lake, the water of which is transparent, and extends to an unsearchable distance, for the darkness of the cave prevents all attempts to acquire a knowledge of it. I threw a small pebble towards the interior parts of it with my utmost strength. I could hear that it fell into the water, and notwithstanding it was of so small a size, it caused an astonishing and horrible noise that reverberated through all those gloomy regions. I found in this cave many hieroglyphics, which appeared very ancient, for time had nearly covered

them with moss, so that it was with difficulty I could trace them. They were cut in a rude manner upon the inside of the walls, which were composed of a stone so extremely soft that it might be easily penetrated with a knife; a stone every where to be found near the Mississippi. The cave is only accessible by ascending a narrow, steep passage that lies near the brink of the river."

The cave has since then been materially altered by the tools of time, frost, air, and water. Many years ago, the roof of the cave fell in, thus exposing to the light the side walls. These to this day are covered with Dakota pictographs, grey with age.

As early as 1817, the present mouth of the cave was so nearly covered up by the talus of rock and earth, that it was necessary for Major Long, to employ a vulgarism, to "creep on all fours" to enter.

In 1820, it appears to have been entirely closed, leading Schoolcraft into an error, and causing him to think that the cave above Saint Paul was the cave described by Carver.

In 1835, Featherstonhaugh fell into the same mistake, and visiting the cave above the town, remarks: "This cave is very well described by Carver who mentions the figures cut by the Indians, which I also observed there."

In 1837, the indefatigable Nicollet determined to explore the cave in Dayton's bluff. The men in his employ worked many hours, in removing the accumulated detritus, and at last effected an entrance into the cave now much reduced from its original proportions.

At the present time there may be seen upon the roof of white sandstone, the initials J. N. N., J. C. F. and some others, formed by the smoke of their torches.—Within the last year, improvements in the suburbs of St. Paul, have led to the further excavation of the entrance, making it easy of access to the visitor.

In the pamphlet issued by the Minnesota Historical Society in the winter of 1850, there is a poem of the great German, Schiller, translated by Sir John Herschel, entitled "Death song of a Nadowessee chief," which was suggested by the reading of a funeral address, said to have been made by a Dakota chief in this cave.

The following documents were called forth by the heirs of Carver, petitioning the United States to give them a title to the land upon which Saint Paul stands, and many miles more, because of an alleged grant of land, made by the Dakotas, to Captain Jonathan Carver, of the British army.

WASHINGTON, July 28, 1821.

Sir:—Agreeably to your request, I have the honor to inform you what I have understood from the Indians of the Sioux nation, as well as some facts within my own knowledge, as to what is commonly termed Carver's grant. The grant purports to be made by the chiefs of the Sioux of the plain, and one of the chiefs uses the sign of a serpent, and the other a turtle, purporting that their names are derived from those animals.

The land lies on the east side of the Mississippi. The Indians do not recognize or acknowledge the grant to be valid, and they (among others) assign the following reasons: (1.) The Sioux of the plains never owned a foot of land on the east side of the Mississippi. The Sioux nation is divided into two grand divisions, viz: The Sioux of the lake, or perhaps more literally Sioux of the river, and Sioux of the plain. The former subsists by hunting and fishing, and usually move from place to place by water, in canoes, during the summer season, and travel on the ice in the winter, when not on their hunting excursions. The latter subsist entirely by hunting, and have no canoes, nor do they know but little about the use of them. They reside in the large prairies west of the Mississippi, and follow the buffalo, upon which they entirely subsist; these are called Sioux of the plain, and never owned land east of the Mississippi.

(2.) The Indians say they have no knowledge of any such chiefs, as those who have signed the grant to Carver, either amongst the Sioux of the river, or Sioux of the plain. They say that if Captain Carver did ever obtain a deed or grant, it was signed by some foolish young men who were not chiefs, and who were not authorized to make a grant. Among the Sioux of the river there are no such names.

(3.) They say the Indians never received any thing for the land, and they have

no intention to part with it, without a consideration. From my knowledge of the Indians, I am induced to think they would not make so considerable a grant, and have it go into full effect, without receiving a substantial consideration.

(4.) They have, and ever have had the possession of the land, and intend to keep it. I know that they are very particular in making every person who wishes to cut timber on that tract, obtain their permission to do so, and to obtain payment for it. In the month of May last, some Frenchmen brought a large raft of red cedar timber out of the Chippewa river, which timber was cut on the tract before mentioned. The Indians at one of the villages on the Mississippi, where the principal chief resided, compelled the Frenchmen to land the raft, and would not permit them to pass until they had received pay for the timber; and the Frenchmen were compelled to leave their raft with the Indians until they went to Prairie du Chien, and obtained the necessary articles and made the payment required.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant.

H. LEAVENWORTH.

To JOSIAH MEIGS, Esq., Com. General Land Office.

[Communicated to the Senate, January 23, 1823.]

Mr. Van Dyke, from the committee on public lands, to whom was referred the petition of Samuel Harrison, agent for the heirs of Captain Jonathan Carver, praying for the recognition and confirmation of an Indian deed, for a large tract of land near St. Anthony's fall, on the Mississippi; and also the petition of the Rev. Samuel Peters, L. L. D., who claims said tract of land as assignee of the heirs of said Captain Carver, and prays that he may be permitted to take possession of the same, reported:

The petitioners state, that Captain Jonathan Carver, in the year 1766, took a long tour among the Indian tribes, two hundred miles west of the fall of Saint Anthony, in the Mississippi, and made important discoveries during his travel and residence of two years and five months with various Indian tribes, which he caused to be printed and published in London, in 1773. That by his conciliatory measures, he gained the good will of the Indian tribes, and became the peace maker between two large nations who were at war; and to reward him for his wisdom and friendly interposition, the sachems of the Naudowessies, were pleased to grant, and accordingly gave to him and his heirs, a deed for a tract of land therein specially described, dated at the Great Cave, May the 1st, 1767; that the chief of said tribe, made him a chief of their tribe on the same day, and he then engaged to return and settle in said territory with his family and connections.

That Captain Jonathan Carver afterwards returned to Boston and sailed for London, where he arrived in the year 1769, and soon after laid his deed before the British government, praying for the confirmation of it, and received for an answer that it should be confirmed as soon as the history of his travels was printed and published. But in consequence of the misunderstanding which existed between Great Britain and America, the ratification of the deed was suspended. That Captain Jonathan Carver died in London, January 31st, 1780, leaving a numerous progeny; and by the establishment of the independence of America, the right to ratify Indian grants devolved upon the government of the United States.

The Rev. Samuel Peters, in his petition, further states, that Lefei, the present emperor of the Sioux and Naudowissies, and Red Wing, a sachem, the heirs and successors of the two grand chiefs who signed the said deed to Captain Carver, have given satisfactory and positive proof, that they allowed their ancestors' deed to be genuine, good and valid, and that Captain Carver's heirs and assigns, are the owners of said territory, and may occupy it free of all molestation.

The committee have examined and considered the claims thus exhibited by the petitioners, and remark that the original deed is not produced, nor any competent legal evidence offered, of its execution; nor is there any proof that the persons who it is alleged made the deed, were the chiefs of said tribe, nor that (if chiefs) they had authority to grant and give away the land belonging to their tribe. The paper annexed

to the petition, as a copy of said deed, has no subscribing witnesses; and it would seem impossible at this remote period, to ascertain the important fact, that the persons who signed the deed comprehended and understood the meaning and effect of their act.

The want of proof as to these facts, would interpose in the way of the claimants insuperable difficulties. But, in the opinion of the committee, the claim is not such as the United States are under any obligation to allow, even if the deed were proved in legal form.

The British government, before the time when the alleged deed bears date, had deemed it prudent and necessary, for the preservation of peace with the Indian tribes under their sovereignty, protection, and dominion, to prevent British subjects from purchasing lands from the Indians; and this rule of policy was made known and enforced by the proclamation of the king of Great Britain, of 7th October, 1763, which contains an express prohibition.

Captain Carver, aware of the law, and knowing that such a contract could not vest the legal title in him, applied to the British government to ratify and confirm the Indian grant, and though it was competent for that government then to confirm the grant, and vest the title of said land in him, yet, from some cause, that government did not think proper to do it.

The territory has since become the property of the United States, and an Indian grant, not good against the British government, would appear to be not binding upon the United States government.

What benefit the British government derived from the services of Captain Carver, by his travels and residence among the Indians, that government alone could determine, and alone could judge what remuneration those services deserved.

One fact appears from the declaration of Mr. Peters, in his statement, in writing, among the papers exhibited; namely, that the British government did give Captain Carver the sum of one thousand, three hundred and seventy-five pounds, six shillings, and eight pence sterling. To the United States, however, Captain Carver rendered no services which could be assumed as an equitable ground for the support of the petitioners' claim.

The committee being of opinion that the United States are not bound, in law or equity, to confirm the said alleged Indian grant, recommended the adoption of the following resolution:

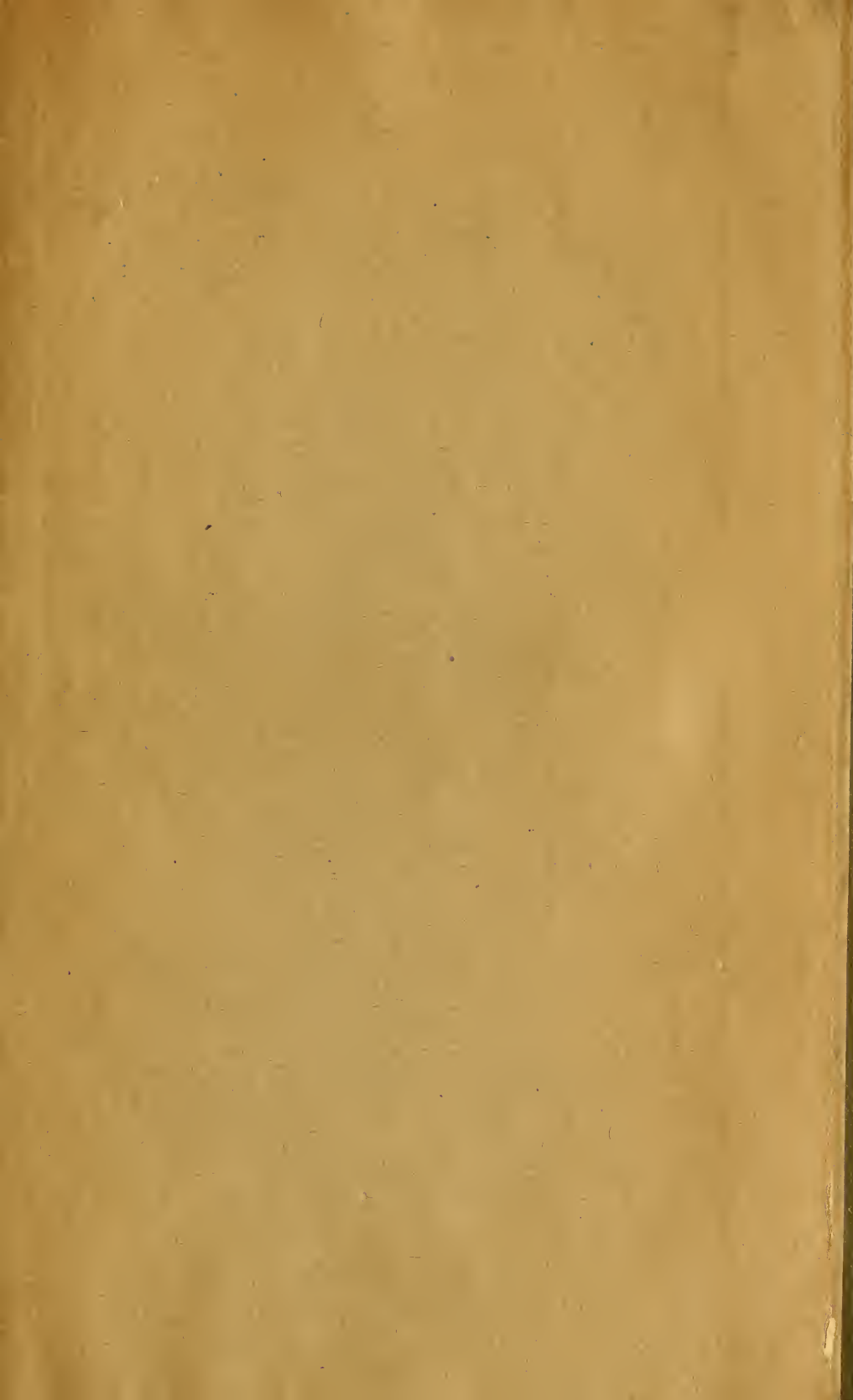
“Resolved, That the prayer of the petitioners ought not to be granted.”

The Rev. Samuel Peters, here spoken of, was formerly an Episcopal minister in Connecticut. Being a tory, he went back to England after the declaration of independence. After many years he returned to this country, and died, at an advanced age, in New York city.

N.

ST. PAUL.







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